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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2207

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29 September 1983

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CREATION OF SUCCESSOR STATES AFTER WW I OUTLINED

Pieces of Pie

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 4/5, 1982 pp 63-65

[Article by Emil Niederhauser: "Balkan Border Changes"]

[Text] In past years, ethnic and national conflicts have continually flared up in the area of the Balkan peninsula. This article endeavors to factually clarify the historical background of current problems (Eds).

After half a millenium of Ottoman occupation, the Christian peoples of the Balkans were sequentially liberated during the course of the 19th century, and established independent states: Serbia, Greece, Rumania which was unified from the two Danubian principalities, and lastly, Bulgaria (which formally only gained its independence in 1908). We also must mention Montenegro, which had been independent in a practical sense long ago. They were all small nation-states on a very low economic scale with many internal difficulties, sly politicians nurtured on the hardships of the struggle against the Turks and rulers acquired from the poorer branches of the great European dynasties. (Serbia was the exception, where two indigenous dynasties vied for power.)

The fact that they were nation-states meant that within each country, the particular nationality comprised the majority of the population, or we might even say, it comprised the population. This must have seemed very fortunate in view of the neighboring multinational empires, the Hapsburg Monarchy and Russia, where numerous great and small nationalities lived intermingled, and would, sooner or later, attempt to follow the Balkan example.

However, at this time, the Balkan inhabitants were primarily aware of another neighboring multinational empire--the Ottoman Empire. A large portion of the peninsula was still in its hands, and the inhabitants of this territory were related to the inhabitants of the Balkan nation-states and indeed, in many cases, were of identical nationalities. There was another nationality which was totally under the rule of the Turks--the Albanian. However, only a few of them thought of national independence.

The Albanians lived in a sufficiently well-definable area, which however, was wedged in among Macedonia with its heterogeneous population, Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece, in the center of the peninsula. There, each of these could find its own kinsfolk or alleged kinsfolk, and on this basis, lay claim to the territory. Already in 1894, the Supreme Macedonian Committee was established in Bulgaria with the task of liberating the territory and uniting it with the mother country.

The Slavs living in Macedonia comprised the majority of the inhabitants and considered themselves Bulgarians at this time; they too established an independent revolutionary committee. Its goal was also the liberation of the territory but so that it would be self-sufficient in some way, since its annexation to any neighboring country would upset Balkan equilibrium. On 15 Aug 1903, they even touched off an uprising, which was bloodily suppressed by the Ottoman authorities.

Great propagandizing was conducted in Macedonia by its neighbors, and ultimately, each desired its acquisition for itself. They tried to convince the inhabitants that in fact, they belong to the respective mother country. But, as shown by the revolutionary attempt of 1903, the propaganda and other plans appeared hopeless in the face of the Ottoman Empire, especially in view of the fact that the great powers of Europe were also unwilling to allow any sort of territorial changes in this area. And theirs was the last word.

Suddenly, the situation changed in 1911, when Italy declared war against the Ottoman Empire, moreover successfully. The Balkan governments were thus compelled to take up arms against the Turks to liberate their Balkan brothers. The situation was made awkward by the fact that the official propaganda proclaiming this liberation was also true to a great extent, because they wanted to continue and effect that which they began in the preceding century.

Bilateral agreements on military cooperation were created among the individual Balkan states. The partitioning of the territories to be liberated was also considered at this time. The territories which would be acquired by Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria were defined. A wide strip remained in the middle, comprising most of Macedonia today, which they could not agree upon. They wished to call upon the Russian Tsar to decide the question at the end of the war. Both the Serbian and Bulgarian governments counted on the Tsar's decision in their favor.

War broke out on 8 Oct 1912. The allies won easily and liberated the territory from Ottoman rule. On 30 May 1913, the opposing parties made peace in London. The territorial questions were also resolved. There was already no need for the Tsar's decision in the matter of the disputed strip.

Following the wartime events, the situation was fundamentally changed. Firstly, the Albanians, the bulk of whom were loyal to the Turkish empire until then, were aghast that this empire had disappeared over their heads. A large portion of the territory fell under Serbian and Greek occupation. It was obvious that if they did not assert themselves, they would be divided among their neighbors. In order to avoid this, they proclaimed the independence of the Albanian state in Vlora on 28 Nov 1912. The Serbs were compelled to withdraw, because the government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy threatened war if they remained

on the Adriatic coast. The newest small European state even received its own prince in the person of Prince William Wied. The borders of Albania were quickly drawn and incorporated into the peace treaty of London. These are identical to its present borders, although it is true that Albanian inhabitants remained outside them.

Serbia met with failure in one area and therefore needed to obtain satisfaction in another. This was not even that difficult, since most of Macedonia was liberated by Serbian troops which had been there ever since. The Bulgarian troops were occupied at the main front and even seized Adrianople. Therefore, it was necessary to satisfy them in this area. To this end, the borders were drawn in London so that Serbia received most of the territory of Macedonia, but Montenegro and Greece also received a share. The Bulgarians received the northern coastal areas of the Aegean Sea and the neighboring Turkish territories up to the line connecting the cities of Midia and Enos, namely also including Adrianople. On the peninsula, Turkey was only able to retain the capital, Istanbul (Constantinople), and some surrounding land.

Thus, the crumbling Ottoman regime was swept out of the Balkans. In terms of social development, this occurrence meant progress; this is why Lenin, a contemporary, assessed the war positively, as the dissolution of existing feudal vestiges.

However, the Bulgarian government could not resign itself to the fact that after and despite its grievous blood sacrifices, it was not able to reach its main goal, the acquisition of Macedonia. Hardly four weeks passed after the ending of the war when on 29 Jun 1913, Bulgaria attacked its former allies in order to realize its claim with arms. In the face of Serbian, Montenegrin and Greek troops, this was a risky enterprise. But they were not the only ones involved. Turkey also entered the war, and Rumania, which had remained neutral up to now, also mobilized its troops; they moved forward unobstructed, since practically speaking, there were neither Bulgarian troops nor stationed men on the northern border who could have taken up arms against them.

In view of this superiority in numbers, the Bulgarians could not hold their ground by any means. On 28 Jul in a dramatic telegram, Ferdinand, the Bulgarian King, asked Rumanian King Carol for a cease-fire. The latest Balkan war--the second, as it was already called by its contemporaries--was ended by a peace treaty concluded in Bucharest on 10 Aug. The Bulgarian borders remained unchanged in the west and south. However, Bulgaria had to relinquish Southern Dobrudja to Rumania. In accordance with a separate agreement concluded in September, it also had to withdraw from the Midia-Enos line, and Adrianople was regained by Turkey. Bulgaria, having once theoretically received Macedonia through the Russian-Turkish peace treaty concluded in San Stefano at the beginning of 1878 and now wishing to obtain it by force, failed once again. However, the government did not finally abandon the thought of regaining the territory, and the hope was nurtured by wide strata of the inhabitants that the given situation was only temporary.

The first world war provided a great opportunity. On 14 Oct 1915, Bulgaria declared war on Serbia, and entered the world war on the side of the Central



Powers. Attacked from three sides, Serbia crumbled and fell under the occupation of the Central Powers. Bulgaria occupied the Macedonian territories of Serbia and Montenegro. In fact, under pressure from the Central Powers, even Turkey relinquished a border strip. It seemed that the national goals had been reached.

However, Bulgaria came out of the war on the defeated side. What it had acquired from Serbia and Montenegro during the course of the war, it now had to return to the new Yugoslavian state. Moreover, it had even lost the Adriatic coast along with the strip acquired from Turkey, because these were given to Greece. The treaty concluded in the Parisian suburb of Neuilly on 27 Nov 1919 (somewhat reminiscent of the Hungarian Treaty of Trianon) brought additional territorial losses. With this, the Bulgarian was able to blame its territorial losses and its neighbors for its internal economic and political difficulties during the Fascist era. The official propaganda must have been effective, because once again, it cited complaints which were justified, or at least felt to be justified. Between the two world wars, Bulgaria inevitably drifted to the side of the imperialist powers opposing the peace treaty of Versailles.

Incidentally, Yugoslavia was able to take a considerable portion of the territory of onetime Austria-Hungary on the north and west into its possession, along with its Croatian and Slovenian inhabitants; this is why its official name in the first decade was the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

At the time of the second world war, newer changes occurred in the Balkan borders, although of these, only one proved permanent. The reannexation of Bessarabia to the Soviet Union raised the Rumanian border question. After close to three decades, the Bulgarian government received an opportunity once again to raise the issue of Southern Dobrudja. On 7 Sept 1940, a bilateral Bulgarian-Rumanian agreement was concluded which returned this territory to Bulgaria.

After Yugoslavia was attacked and the country overrun, the occupying powers effected large-scale territorial changes. The Slovene territories which had belonged to Austria before 1918 were taken back by Hitler's Germany, Hungary regained the Bacska and the Murakoz and the middle third of the Dalmatian seacoast was ceded to Italy. Croatia was separated from Serbia and received Bosnia and Hercegovina. Bulgarian troops again occupied Macedonia and the strip along the Aegean coast, since Yugoslavia, along with Greece, had become sacrifices of the Fascist aggression. After the Italian surrender, the so-called Croatian state became a possession of the whole Dalmatian seacoast.

Of course, these changes were only recognized by one of the warring parties, and therefore never reached any sort of realization on the basis of international law. All border changes were voided by the Paris peace treaties concluding the second world war, with the exception of the change effected in Southern Dobrudja, that is, with the modification that the Istrian peninsula and Rijeka-Fiume goes to Yugoslavia and Trieste, which temporarily became a free city, was annexed to Italy. Thus, the borders existing before the war were fundamentally in effect.



I. The Borders in the Second Half  
of the 19th Century

Key:

- |                              |                   |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Austro-Hungarian Monarchy | 5. Turkish Empire |
| 2. Rumania                   | 6. Greece         |
| 3. Serbia                    | 7. Italy          |
| 4. Bulgaria                  |                   |





## II. The Borders Before and After the First World War

### Key:

- |                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Czechoslovakia | 7. Bulgaria |
| 2. Soviet Union   | 8. Albania  |
| 3. Rumania        | 9. Greece   |
| 4. Hungary        | 10. Turkey  |
| 5. Austria        | 11. Italy   |
| 6. Yugoslavia     |             |



### III. The Borders Before and After the Second World War

Key:

- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Czechoslovakia | 9. Serbia      |
| 2. Slovakia       | 10. Bulgaria   |
| 3. Soviet Union   | 11. Turkey     |
| 4. Hungary        | 12. Albania    |
| 5. Austria        | 13. Greece     |
| 6. Rumania        | 14. Italy      |
| 7. Yugoslavia     | 15. After 1945 |
| 8. Croatia        |                |

### 'German-Austria' Created

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 4/5, 1982 pp 47-48

[Article by Lajos Kerekes: "Republic Instead of Empire"; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] Alfred Polgar, the scintillatingly humorous Austrian novelist and theater critic, characterized the dominant mood in Vienna in January 1919 in his "Vienna Commentaries" written for the Berlin "Weltbühne" thus: "The Viennese cafes were always the center of Viennese life, and now they have become the centers of the Viennese fear of death."

Around the turn of the century, Austrian intellectuals already expressed their anxieties concerning the inevitable destruction of the empire. In October 1918, annihilation became cold reality from one hour to the next. The military defeat of the Central Powers and the social and national revolutions swept away the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with its 56 million inhabitants. The National Committees or Councils of the subordinated nationalities of the Dual Monarchy, the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Southern Slavs and, on 31 October, the Hungarians declared the formation of their independent states. However, the chain reaction of the seceding nationalities was not all which signaled the agony of the House of Hapsburg. The great casualties of the Austro-Hungarian armies--1 million dead, 2 million wounded, the demoralizing effect of military defeat, the oppressive deprivations at the home front and the enticing example of the Russian Revolution awakened the spirit of hate for the existing ruling order in the center of the Austrian realm.

On 16 October 1918, Charles Hapsburg still tried to stem the tide of events with an Imperial Manifesto, giving his highest "consent" to transform the Monarchy into a federal state with peoples of equal rights; however, historical reality already went beyond this plan, even at the moment of its conception. Charles could save neither his realm nor his throne. After the overthrow of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the Prussian Hohenzollerns, Charles was likewise forced to resign on 11 November 1918, and on the next day, 12 November, a republic was proclaimed in Vienna.

#### The Creation of "German-Austria"

The creation of the new Austrian state occurred under historically unique circumstances, because at the moment of its birth it informed the world that it wished to merge with the German empire. Thus, it was its intention to relinquish its proclaimed national independence. Along with its birth certificate, German-Austria also made out its death certificate. Thus, a development counteracting the disintegrating process of the Monarchy began in Vienna. While the other nationalities of the Monarchy looked ahead to the future intoxicated by their regained or initially won independence and feelings of self-confident national identity, Austria saw in the historical landmark the superfluous and antiquated nature of its independent national existence. The Interim National Assembly christened the new state "German-Austria", thereby also signifying that the country confined to the German language territory wished to merge

with Germany as soon as possible, on the basis of the national right of self-determination.

The majority of Austrian society considered the new Austria a product of disintegration and an unviable state. A significant role in spreading this conception was also played by the then seemingly hopeless economic situation. The public administrative, financial, economic and foreign trade apparatus geared to the needs of a realm of 56 million became superfluous with one blow. Industry lost its earlier sources of raw materials. The distortion of the economy is verified by the fact that 30 percent of the industrial workers of the entire realm remained in the Austrian republic, whose population shrank to 6.5 million; however, a mere 0.5 percent of its coal reserves remained. Its former domestic trade turned into foreign trade without any preliminary restructuring and moreover, without a transition; free trade was obstructed by customs barriers. The isolationist economic and tariff policies of the states which had become independent barred not only sources of raw materials but also selling markets from Austria. In addition to industry, the problems in agriculture were also serious. The cultivation of land and animal husbandry were only able to produce a fraction of the quantity necessary for subsistence in the most important branches of food supply provisioning--principally cereals, fats and meats. And then there was the big question of what should happen to the capital city of 1.6 million inhabitants which developed in accordance with economic and administrative needs of the Dual Monarchy, but which seemed to be monstrous compared to the dimensions of the tiny Austrian Republic. The huge metropolis was an unbearable burden for Austria, also from an economic and social viewpoint. The theory of "unviability" was born which the economist Gustav Stolper propagated with the vigorous support of trendsetting bourgeois and social democratic politicians.

The parties playing a more significant role in the Austrian Republic did not believe in the possibility of Austria's independent existence. The /Christian Socialist Party/ (led by Ignaz Seipel) suggested an alternative to the Danubian Confederation which would pave the way for the return of the Hapsburgs. /The Great German Party/ (following the footsteps of Georg Schnorerer) advocated a program of unification with the reactionary Prussian Monarchy. The /Social Democratic Party/ (under the intellectual guidance of Otto Bauer) played an almost determining role in the weeks of November 1918; they unambiguously represented the idea of merging with the German Weimar Republic. Otto Bauer, citing the works of Marx and Engels, set forth the idea that after the overthrow of the Tsarist and Hohenzollern dynasties, the downfall of the Hapsburgs was a normal development. After the two reactionary great powers ceased to exist, the nationalities of the former Monarchy would unite in their independent national states and the Hungarians and Germans would return to the demands of the revolutions of 1848--the Hungarians to the program of an independent Hungary and the German inhabitants of the Monarchy, breaking from the labyrinth of great German and small German solutions, would merge into a democratic republic, with the other German countries and provinces. Marx and Engels set this as the goal of the German national revolution of 1848. Otto Bauer called the program for maintaining "residual Austria" the machinations of entente-imperialism which aims to subordinate the German inhabitants of the Monarchy to France's Danubian interests.

## The Peace Treaty of Saint Germain

The creation of a zone under French hegemony from the Baltic to the Black Sea stood at the center of French Central and Southeastern European power aspirations. This would have been a suitable counterbalance for the Danubian expansion policy of Germany and the propagation of communist ideology pouring out of Soviet Russia.

Naturally, the merger of Austria and Germany would have made the realization of this plan impossible; moreover, Germany would have obtained the gateway to the Danubian basin through Vienna's possession. According to the thinking at that time, Germany would have compensated itself for defeat in the war by implementing the Anschluss; moreover, in the long run, it could have also captured the role of victor, in the opinion of leading French statesmen. Thus, France considered it her vital interest to block Austria's merger with Germany.

The Austrian peace treaty was preceded by heated diplomatic wars because there was also a definite difference of opinion among the victors; could the principle of national self-determination also refer to the German-Austrian merger? While the American and British delegations leaned toward accepting the Anschluss--primarily for economic considerations, France opposed it most vigorously.

Three ideas were raised about the future of Austria: federation with the successor states of the Monarchy, merger with Germany or independent state under the protection of the League of Nations. There was also talk about an alternative of creating an anti-Prussian buffer state by uniting Austria with Southern Germany, but this plan lacked a realistic basis just as the French plan for the Rhineland which aimed at the final tearing away of the Ruhr Valley. In the period following the disintegration of the Hapsburg Empire, the policies of the new nations were dominated by nationalism to such an extent that the conditions for a /federal solution/ were entirely missing. The ruling classes of the new states wanted to enjoy their political and economic power without any restrictions; they claimed to see a phantom of the past in plans for a federation in any form. On the question of the /Anschluss/, there was a considerably wide difference of opinion between the attitudes of American President Wilson and the French Prime Minister Clemenceau. Wilson declared, "Regarding Austria, I have reservations with respect to limiting the right of self-determination. Here I am thinking of the Austrians and not the Germans. We could forbid an annexation, but we may not forbid one country to unite with another country if it so wishes." In March 1919, Clemenceau expressed his opinion by directing his words to Austria thus: "We only demand of you to remain independent; you may do what you will with your independence. However, you may not join a German bloc again and you may not participate in a revanchist war on Germany's side." French propaganda purposefully strove to create the impression in Vienna that in the event of their rejection of the Anschluss, they could count on retaining South Tyrol, South Carinthia, Lower Styria and further, a part of the Sudetenland; furthermore, they could also expect economically more favorable peace terms. However, they bluntly informed the German peace delegation that maintaining the demands for Anschluss would result in the final disannexation of the area extending from the left bank of the Rhine to the French border. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia definitely supported France's anti-Anschluss policy; Italy similarly sided with France because, having occupied



South Tyrol, it preferred weak Austria to the huge German empire as a neighbor.

Finally, after bitter and lengthy debates, a compromise solution was arrived at. The 80th article of the German peace treaty was formulated in such a way that they formally satisfied the principle of German self-determination, but in practice, they barred the possibility for Anschluss: "Germany acknowledges Austria's independence and its immutability, except in the event that the Council of the League of Nations unanimously consents to its change." By building a rainbow bridge between conflicting opinions, they did not unambiguously prohibit the Anschluss, but the decision-making right was vested in a body in which France could exercise its veto power at any time.

The government of the Austrian Republic received the preliminary draft of the peace treaty on 2 June 1919 to which it protested, because it did not take into consideration the Austrian desires concerning the affiliation of the German inhabitants of South Tyrol, South Carinthia, Sudetenland and Burgenland already expressed in November 1918. The 88th point of the peace treaty stipulated that Austria must refrain from any economic and political commitments which would endanger its independence, either directly or indirectly. The military clause provided that Austria is obligated to discontinue general compulsory military service and to surrender its navy and air force; it could maintain a mercenary army of 30,000 for the protection of its borders.

The fact that the Entente dictating the peace soon made considerable concessions to Austria is explained not by the protests of the Austrian government but rather by the change in the international situation--primarily fear of the effects of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. In the second, modified version of the terms of the peace treaty handed down on 20 July 1919, they already consented to a referendum in South Carinthia, accepted the Austrian demands concerning western Hungary, dropped the reparations demands and in the economic field, also made other promises to Austria. After this, the Austrian peace delegation, led by Karl Renner, signed the peace treaty on 10 September.

Despite the peace treaty, the final determination of the borders of the Austrian Republic and thereby also the total consolidation of the new country's international legal situation took a considerable amount of time. A referendum was organized on 10 October 1920 in South Carinthia which returned Klagenfurt and the southern area--together with the Slovene minority--which was occupied by Southern Slav troops. Then a referendum in Sopron and the surrounding areas occurred on 14 December 1921 which, after serious conflicts, finally determined Austria's eastern border and normalized Austrian-Hungarian relations. The final act of the creation of the new Austria was the signing of the Geneva protocol which agreed to the economic stabilization of the Austrian Republic with financial aid from the League of Nations.



Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 4/5, 1982 pp 44-46

[Article by Magda Adam: "The Creation of Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] On the morning of 28 October 1918, the response of Count Gyula Andrássy, the Austro-Hungarian joint Foreign Minister, to Wilson was made public, in which he declared his government is ready to discuss the armistice and the peace treaty, and he agrees with the position of the American president about the rights of the nationalities of the Monarchy, especially those of the /Czechs and the Southern Slavs/. Although this diplomatic phrasing may also be interpreted as meaning that Vienna had not yet abandoned its hope to win the Czechs and Southern Slavs for its federalist purposes, the Czechoslovakian National Council was the first of the Monarchy's onetime nationalities to proclaim the creation of the Czechoslovak state on 28 October. It took steps toward the practical assumption of power. It took over the offices, most notably, that of the regent in Prague and the Czech office of public administration. Presumably on Vienna's orders, the military command in Prague undertook an experiment to reinstate the Hapsburgs. On 28 October and then at dawn between 29 and 30 October, minor armed clashes occurred in Prague. On 30 October, Vienna halted the resistance. From the first moment, the Prague gendarmerie and police force, along with the Czech bureaucrats, supported the activities of the National Council. Thus, the transfer of power was effected relatively peacefully. On the evening of 28 October, the National Council turned to the Czechoslovak people with a proclamation: the Czechoslovak state, whose form will be decided later, has been created. The power is temporarily in the hands of the National Council. The prevailing system of laws will remain in effect for the time being. On the news of the events in Prague, the change was effected in Bohemia and Moravia on 28 and 29 October. The Slovak National Council publicized the unification with the Czechs on 30 October. The annexation of Sub-Carpathia would only be declared a year later, in May 1919.

On 14 November, the first Czechoslovak National Assembly met in which representatives participated from the Czech and Slovak parties. The Hapsburg-Lorraine dynasty was dethroned, the republic was declared, the president of the republic (Thomas G. Masaryk) was elected and the government was created. Karel Kramář became prime minister and Eduard Benes foreign minister. Because of the unstable conditions, the planned elections were postponed indefinitely. Thus, the final constitution was drafted by the first National Assembly (and approved in 1924). The constitution stipulated that the people, the only representatives of state power, invest the National Assembly with legislative power. The National Assembly is comprised of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The deputies and senators are elected through a universal, equal, direct and secret ballot. The National Assembly elects the president of the republic for a 7-year term, under whose jurisdiction belongs, among others, the appointment and dismissal of the government. The National Assembly passed a series of important laws. The 8-hour workday was introduced; aid for the old and infirmed, as well as pension payments and consideration for the unemployed were ordered. An enabling act was adopted on land reform. This was not only socially but

politically warranted: to undermine the strength of the German and Hungarian landowners along the border. The new Czechoslovak state restricted the previous power of the Catholic Church in schools and public life.

From this, it may be observed that the founders of the Republic of Czechoslovakia used the western democracies and their parliamentary systems as a blueprint. The so-called First Republic, established in November 1918 and lasting until October 1938, is historically considered the most progressive system of Central and Southeastern Europe.

However, the borders of the new state remained uncertain for a long time. The Allied Powers, especially England and the United States, still vacillated on the question of the Czechoslovak borders--if for no other reason than that the fulfillment of the territorial demands of Masaryk and Benes would have meant stading in opposition to the right of self-determination and ethnographic rationale inisitently proclaimed by them, and rejecting the Austrian, Polish and Hungarian justified demands for a referendum. This explains why, even after the creation of the independent state, Masaryk and Benes remained in the west for a long time. (Masaryk finally returned home in December 1919 after the fixing of the temporary Czechoslovakian lines of demarcation, and Benes in the spring of 1919, after the conclusion of the peace conference.

In order to understand the diplomatic wars ensuing after 28 October 1918, we must examine the earlier Czech and Slovak national movements.

#### During the War

At the outbreak of the first world war, all the facets of the Czech national movement depended on the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Until 1914, Masaryk himself took this position. "...If Austria would disintegrate in a European conflagration, the Czechs would go to Germany", he reasoned. This is why he did not even question the Monarchy's governmental structure. He first raised the necessity for the creation of an independent Czech state in a secret memorandum to the British government in October 1914. It was true that he had not yet mentioned the unification of the Czechs and Slovaks, but we know that he dealt with this concept from the moment he turned against the Monarchy.

In 1914, he was forced to emigrate. First in France, then in England and finally in the United States, he conducted widespread activities towards the establishment of a Czech, and after 1915, a Czechoslovak state. He had a great supporter in E. Benes, lecturer at the University of Prague, who also lived abroad from 1915. As a result of their efforts, the Czech Committee functioning in Paris was formed into the /Czechoslovak National Council/ in February 1916. Masaryk was its president and Benes its first secretary. In the Council, the Slovaks were represented by Milan Stefanik who served in the French army as a voluntary pilot from the beginning of the war. The Council seriously turned its attention to gaining the support of Slovaks living in the United States. This resulted in the Pittsburgh Agreement, which set the unification of Czechs and Slovaks in an independent state as its goal.

However, the Czech national movement at home was not unified. Catholic circles unchangingly supported the Hapsburg Monarchy and desired certain reforms only within the empire. On the other hand, the Social Democrats wanted changes in the social structure of the empire while maintaining its territorial integrity. The Russophile trend led by Kramar had the greatest impact on the national movement at home. Their concept was the establishment of independence for Bohemia and later, Czechoslovakia, with the support of Russia. Until 1917, this movement significantly counteracted the western European activities of Masaryk and Benes. However, the uprising of February 1917 meant a heavy blow to the Russophile trend, also pursued by Vienna (Kramar was arrested). After this, the connection between the movements abroad and at home were strengthened, and the latter was radicalized.

The next phase of development was the unification of the domestic Czech and Slovak movements. The demand for the secession of Slovakia--or the Felvidek--from Hungary was not included in the program of any trend of the domestic Czech political movement. One reason for this was that here, the social basis for the national movement, the bourgeoisie and the national intelligentsia, emerged with more difficulty. But an essential difference was that while in Austria, the loosening of the ties of the nationalities with Vienna occurred without any particular conflict, in Hungary, even after 1918, the government circles were more effectively able to restrain attempts at autonomy. Thus, although from the spring of 1918, all political movements campaigned for the right of self-determination, primarily the social democrats wished to accomplish this within Hungary's borders.

An even more difficult task proved to be the organization and then the winning over of the Ruthenian national movement to the Czech concept. Until 1918, the Czech leaders did not even consider the annexation of this territory to the Czechoslovak state. They only thought of this after Masaryk won over the Ruthenian leaders living in the United States. With their help, he tried to influence the domestic movement. But the significantly stronger domestic movement did not want to separate Sub-Carpathia from Hungary. Their camp was particularly strengthened when Sub-Carpathia received autonomy from the Karolyi government in December 1918. And finally, there was another domestic trend which planned, in the event of the establishment of a large Ukrainian state, annexation to the Ukraine. This also explains why Sub-Carpathia only publicized its annexation to Czechoslovakia in May 1919, when the Czech army had already taken possession of the territory.

The activities of the Czechoslovak movement abroad and the development of cooperation with those at home was made more urgent by the fact that after the Russian February Revolution and more so, after the October Revolution, those trends gained strength in the United States and Great Britain which opposed the partitioning of the Monarchy from the beginning. This concept was represented by the January 1918 declaration of the American Thomas Woodrow Wilson and the British Lloyd George which, as is well known, only called for the internal restructuring of the Monarchy.

However, Masaryk and Benes worked tirelessly. They lectured, agitated, conferred and decried the passivity of the domestic movement. Benes conferred with Clemenceau and Masaryk with Wilson. This also had an obvious part in the

issuance of a declaration by Clemenceau in May 1918, in which he emphasized the necessity of dissolving the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in his official recognition of the right of the Czechoslovak nation to form a state in the spring of 1918. In his letter to Benes dated 30 June 1918, Pichon, the leading French diplomat stated that until the formation of the permanent Czechoslovak government, he regarded the Czechoslovak National Assembly as the representative of the as yet unformed Czechoslovakia. France's attitude also influenced her allies. After the failure of the conferences held to discuss a separate peace treaty, France's role in the war and within the Entente was increased. Its goal was the establishment of the independent "national states".

While Benes worked in Paris, Masaryk conferred in the United States, the result of which was that the USA recognized the Czechoslovak National Assembly. Thus, the Czechoslovak question became the key to the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In the summer of 1918, Wilson's points, which still recognized the integrity of the Monarchy, were no longer viable.

#### The Creation of Facts Accomplis

The facts that have been related thusfar do not mean that a unified or at least, even definable, attitude had developed within the victorious powers regarding the future of Central and Southeastern Europe. The differing interests of the powers were apparent in the differences in the settlement plans. The traditional British-French antagonism left its mark on virtually all the solutions of the issues in question. The squabbling which began among the victorious powers the day after the cease-fire opened the way for unilateral acts and fait accompli solutions.

The subject being new states, Czechoslovakia, unlike the other successor states, was forced to wage a bitter battle for every single border--even for the historical borders of Bohemia with, for instance, Poland and Austria. Since Rumania claimed a portion of Sub-Carpathia, her relationship with Rumania also became strained. And with Hungary, as is known, they had to conduct diplomatic, political and military battles lasting many months.

It was obvious to the Czechoslovak politicians that a state presenting the peace conference with a fait accompli has an enormous advantage at its disposal. Thus, they decided to take immediate possession of the territory which is known as Slavonia today. Their success could be attributed to the fact that the Allies had ordered the territory evacuated. The Karolyi government, even if not immediately and not completely, had finally fulfilled this request.

The acquisition of Silesia proved a more difficult assignment. The Polish government had taken serious steps toward the assimilation of this territory. (It had proscribed elections in the Warsaw parliament, demanded the taking of oaths by state officials and ordered recruits into the Polish army.) And Poland was on the side of the Allies, a victorious country; indeed, it could even count on the support of France, not to mention the fact that the majority of the territorial inhabitants was Polish. Nevertheless, without any military preparation, the Czechoslovak government ordered the occupation of Silesia on 24 January 1919. It was counting on an easy victory, since it knew that Poland would be unable to mount serious opposition: the Polish borders, like those of



Czechoslovakia, were all disputed and as a result, its strength and attention were occupied by struggles with the Ukrainians and the Soviet power.

### In the Halls of Versailles

On 18 January 1919, the peace conference began in the dazzling halls of Versailles. In the salons just outside of Paris, a struggle began for the partitioning of Europe which lasted many months. The Council of Ten immediately placed the Czechoslovak-Polish conflict on the agenda. After listening to representatives from both states, it handed down a compromise decision. It designated a new line of demarcation. Although this new border was more advantageous to Czechoslovakia than the 1918 line of demarcation, the leader of the Czechoslovak peace delegation, Kramar, refused to sign the decision. Citing historic and economic principles, he demanded the entire territory. However, France now sided with Poland and naturally, not only out of the love of justice. "When we talk about Poland, we must not forget that we created it not only to right one of the greatest injustices, but also to raise a dividing wall between Germany and Russia", declared Clemenceau.

As a result of the Silesian affair, a change ensued in the politics of the Czechoslovak delegation. While Kramar affected the pose of the stiff and victorious leader, Benes, with his flexibility, recognized that for Czechoslovakia, the regaining of French sympathy would be most important. He took the leadership of the conference into his own hands, he confronted the Czech politicians who rejected the decision and he acknowledged the defeat suffered in the Silesian question. Thus, discounting the dispute on the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav corridor, he was then able to realize his original concepts on almost every front. In this it was undoubtedly to his assistance that after the dispute with Poland, the talk turned to the designation of borders between Czechoslovakia and the defeated states. On 5 February, Benes presented Czechoslovakia's demands in a 3-hour speech. As he said, the Czechs are most likely to have at their disposal those national characteristics which are necessary to lead a state. He explained the historic rights of the Czechs and also why the demands of the Czech Germans, that is, Austria, could not be considered. He primarily justified this with transportation considerations.

Having forgotten the principles of self-determination and ethnography with which he entered into battle against the multinational Monarchy with Masaryk, he listed ethnologic and historic, economic, transportation and strategic principles in defense of their interests.

In this phase of the peace conference, Lloyd George and Wilson still clung to the idea of putting as few foreign ethnic groups as possible into the new state when setting the borders. /"There will never be peace in Europe if we burden the new states with irredentism"/, said Lloyd George with foresight. At this time, however, the position of Clemenceau, that is, of France emerged which, in the interest of increasing its security, considered the creation of a strong Czechoslovakia important. The close cooperation developed with Yugoslavia and Rumania played a great role in Czechoslovakia's victory at the peace conference. Although there were significant conflicts among the three states at the time of the conference, their common interests proved stronger than these. And their common

interests represented the rejection of the demands of the Hungarian peace delegation. All three of them particularly ignored the Hungarian request for a referendum.

#### At the Battlefront

That the Slovak question was not debated at the peace conference was also accomplished by Benes. According to him, Slovakia's affiliation could not constitute a subject for debate. Although Lloyd George had reservations in connection with this, the Council of Ten elected to unify this territory with Bohemia. After the Hungarian government refused to sign the grievous peace terms and attempted to save the territories allocated to Czechoslovakia, international endeavors were initiated in Prague to bring about the fall of the Karolyi government which had good western connections at its disposal. But their situation was not alleviated with the departure of Karolyi and the proclamation of the Soviet Republic, since regarding the question of Hungary's integrity, initially the leaders of the Soviet formally followed the foreign policy of their predecessors. The real change was that Bela Kun and his followers regarded the restructuring of the Carpathian basin as part of the international revolution of the proletariat. They desired the realization of the socialist cohabitation of the nationalities of the Danubian Valley, which program even from a world viewpoint conflicted with the concepts of Czechoslovak government circles. Thus, 10 days after the Rumanian attack on Hungary, the government of Prague also attacked the Soviet. The war lasted for 2 months. Sub-Carpathia was occupied, and they attempted to take Hungary's most important coal basin at Salgotarja, for which they had a need. As it is known, the Hungarian revolutionary government stopped the Czechoslovak army and forced it out of Hungarian territory; then, overstepping the line of demarcation, it occupied Southern Slovakia, the majority of whose inhabitants were Hungarian, and reached the Polish border north of Eperjes. On 16 June, they proclaimed the Slovak Soviet. As a result of the counterattack of Bela Kun as well as the proclamation of the Slovak Soviet, Czechoslovakia's situation became critical. Once again, the Allied Powers came to their aid. Upon their interference, the state of war between the two states ceased. On 13 June 1919 in Paris, the line of demarcation between Hungary and Czechoslovakia was finally set, which, although more advantageous from Hungary's point of view than that of 1918, nevertheless annexed Sub-Carpathia to Czechoslovakia (without considering Rumania's aspirations in this regard). With this, Czechoslovakia's borders were finally determined. The borders were confirmed by the treaties of Versailles (28 June 1919), Saint Germain (10 September 1919) and Trianon (4 June 1920).

#### Contradictions and Strains

The territory of the new state consists of 140,508 sq km. (Of this, 56,062 sq km consists of Bohemia, 26,808 sq km of Moravia and Silesia, 49,021 sq km of Slovakia and 12,617 sq km of Sub-Carpathia, with 13,612,244 inhabitants altogether. See their national distribution on the back of our poster supplement.)

How the new state bore the marks of the contradictions which played a part in its establishment and to what extent the structure of the state was weakened by differing internal national and social levels are topics which already belong to the history of independent Czechoslovakia and within the framework of another study.



Multinational Yugoslavia

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 4/5, 1982 pp 49-51

[Article by Laszlo Kovago: "From Southern Slav State to Yugoslavia"; passages in slantlines are printed in italics]



"We don't want old, destitute Austria;  
instead we want young, rich Yugoslavia!"

[Text] During the first world war, three centers for the movement for the unification of the Southern Slav peoples developed. /The government of Serbia/ saw the unification of the Southern Slavs as its task. On 7 December 1914, it announced in the Skupstina (National Assembly) that it considered as its war aims not only the protection of Serbia but also the unification of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This was a goal of an imperialist nature which gave Serbia's initially just, patriotic war a conquering, unjust character, because none of the Southern Slavs wanted the rule of the Serbian king or the Serbian bourgeoisie.

The /Slovene and Croatian/ bourgeois politicians who emigrated from the Monarchy at the beginning of the war /formed the Yugoslav Committee/ under the leadership of Croatian politician Ante Trumbic (Jugoslavenski Odbor) in /London/ in May 1915. The purpose of the Committee's activity was the unification of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in an independent state separate from the Monarchy, and

it conceived the unified Yugoslav state as an equal ally of the Yugoslav peoples' states.

#### Hapsburg or Karagjorgjevic

The group of /Southern Slav representatives/ at the Vienna meeting issued a proclamation on 30 May 1917. In this so-called May Declaration, they demanded that all the territories of Austria-Hungary where Slovenes, Croats and Serbs lived be united in an independent, free and democratic state. The thus constituted state would have remained /within the framework of the Hapsburg Empire/. That is, the May Declaration wished to solve the problem of the unification of the Southern Slavs among the Slav politicians of the Monarchy as well as by taking the trilateral road planned for a long time in Viennese court circles. The majority of the Southern Slav politicians who signed the declaration remained faithful to the basis of the dynastic principles expressed in it until the end of the war.

The leaders of the two centers of unification aspirations outside the Monarchy gave a joint reply to the May Declaration. On 20 July 1917 on the Greek island of Corfu, Nikola Pasic, the Serbian premier, and Ante Trumbic, president of the Yugoslav Committee in London, signed a joint agreement. The Declaration of Corfu designated the future Yugoslav state as a /constitutional parliamentary Monarchy/ which would be ruled by the Karagjorgjevic dynasty. Besides the form of the state, the declaration did not mention another very important question, about whether the state to be created will be a federation of territories or states, or whether it will be centrally governed. It was commonly known that Pasic, the radical representative of the Serbian bourgeoisie, had striven until then and continued to do so for the creation of a centralistic Great Serbia. He did not conceal that his calculations were disturbed by strivings of the Croatian and Slovenian bourgeoisie to create a decentralized state, demands which Trumbic arbitrarily retracted during the course of the discussion.

The Declaration of Corfu sharpened the conflicts among the /Serbian Monarchy/, the /Croats and Slovenes/ as well as the /Muslim citizens/ whose mother tongue was /Bosnian and Serbo-Croatian/. One of the sources of conflict was whether the unification of the Southern Slavs should occur within or outside the Monarchy. The other was whether the Hapsburg or Karagjorgjevic dynasty should sit on the throne of the new Yugoslav state. The third question was whether they should create a centralized or a federated state.

The bourgeois politicians of the Yugoslav union based on Croatia and Slavonia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Istria and Murakoz, which belonged to Hungary, adopted a resolution on 2-3 March 1918 in Zagreb, saying that they find necessary the concentration of all parties and groups which strive for their national independence and for the creation of a democratic state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs within the Monarchy. Anton Korosec, leader of the Slovene Catholic Peoples Party, and the most influential participant at the conference, was the confidant of the emperor.

Some of the Croatian politicians--above all, the members of the Starcevic-type party having the creation of a Great Croatia as its goal--as well as the Bosnian

Muslim leaders opposed the creation of a unified Southern Slav state. This obstacle was only partially fended off in June 1918 when the Starcevic-type party adopted a resolution supporting the policy of unification assuming that the possibility would exist for preserving the continuity of the Croatian government in the unified Southern Slav nation when it is realized. The leaders of the Bosnian Muslims whose mother tongue was Serbo-Croatian, changed their attitude only in the middle of October and joined the goal of Southern Slav unification within the Monarchy.

After the serious defeats suffered by the Central Powers in the war theaters, the Slovene politicians formed a Slovene National Committee (Slovenski Narodni Svet) on 16 August 1918 in Laibach (Lyublyana). In the proclamation of the meeting, it was emphasized that the Lyublyana Committee was formed "as a division of the general Yugoslav National Council which is to be formed in Zagreb in the near future."

After these preliminaries, the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs within the Monarchy was formed on 5-6 October 1918 in Zagreb, and proclaimed itself the /political representative/ of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs living in the territories of the Monarchy. However, as the Monarchy's position deteriorated, so did the political program become transformed. On 19 October the Council in Zagreb adopted an /interim constitution/, proclaimed the /creation of the state/ of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs living in the Monarchy and established an executive committee which was actually regarded as a temporary central government.

The interim constitution ensured a majority for the Croatian bourgeoisie in the leadership of the Serb-Croat-Slovene state within the Monarchy. Every 100,000 inhabitants could send one representative to the National Council; thus, Croatia had 10, Slovenia had 14 and Dalmatia, Istria, Voivodina and other territories had 10 altogether.

"The Serb-Croat-Slovene State, which was formed on the Southern Slav territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and which is prepared to create a joint state with Serbia and Crna Gora, wishes to formally announce that it is not in a state of war with the Entente powers. It is pleased to announce that it regards the Entente powers as friendly states and expects that, in accordance with their publicized principles, they will vigorously support the safeguarding of the sovereignty of the unified state of all Slovenes, Croats and Serbs."

/(Notice of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Zagreb directed to the governments of America, Great Britain, France, Italy and Serbia on 31 October 1918.)/

On 29 October 1918, the Croatian Sabor (National Assembly) announced /Croatia's/ secession from Hungary and its /union/ with the Serb-Croat-Slovene state. Actually, the state of the Southern Slavs living in the Monarchy came into existence with this act. As the temporary government, the executive committee

of the National Council in Zagreb notified the American, British, French, Italian and Serb governments of the creation of the new state on 31 October.

The situation developed in such a way that by the time this state, independent but loyal to the Hapsburgs, came into being, the Monarchy was already disintegrating, and on 31 October the Southern Slav politicians who were loyal to the emperor not long ago, declared, obviously after evaluating the power relations which developed, that they are /ready to unite the new state with Serbia and Montenegro (Crna Gora), the two independent Southern Slav states.

The two trends striving for unification outside the Monarchy, the Serb Monarchical government and the emigrant National Committee of London, developed more favorably since both were on friendly terms with the victorious Entente powers and enjoyed their support.

The Balkan troops of the Entente--including units of the Serbian royal army--after the breakthrough at the Salonikan front in September in the wake of the retreating troops of the Central Powers, reached the Sava-Danube line by the end of October, and liberated Serbia. The first Serbian troops marched into Belgrade on 1 November while at the same time, the second Serbian army advancing toward Bosnia reached the border along the line of the Drina at Visegrad.

Although the Serbian armies fighting continuously since 1912 and tired after the quick push of September-October did not represent a significant military force compared to the armies of the Monarchy even in their disintegrating state, they nevertheless proved to be sufficient to cross the borders of the Serbian Monarchy and occupy territories beyond them inhabited by Southern Slavs. The internal and political conflicts of the Southern Slav territories presented a rather favorable position for the Serbian government. That is to say, the government in Zagreb formed from the National Council had to face extraordinarily serious internal and external difficulties. The Italian government, which was promised the Dalmatian coastline by the Entente powers in a secret treaty concluded on 26 April 1915 in London in return for going to war, began the occupation of the port cities (Trieste, Pola, etc.) as well as the coast and islands, in the first days of November. At the same time, large-scale popular movements in the territory of the newly formed Yugoslav state, primarily the land seizure movement of the working peasants, endangered civil order. And the National Council of Zagreb did not have any troops at its disposal with which it could oppose the Italian forces embarked on the conquest of Dalmatia or which it could utilize to curb the popular movements proclaiming republics, and even Soviet republics, in certain places. Thus, the Yugoslav state (i.e., National Council of Zagreb), originally led by the Croatian and Slovene bourgeoisie, turned to the Serbian government, as well as to Marshal Foch, the supreme commander of the Entente troops, on 4 November with the request that they urgently send occupying troops to their territory.

The request of the National Council came as a godsend to the Serbian government which happily fulfilled the request. The Serbian supreme command immediately--on 5 November--issued orders to overstep the borders of the Monarchy.



When it became generally known that Bela Linder, the representative of the Hungarian government, will arrive in Belgrade the next day to sign the armistice agreement, Petar Bojovic, the commander of the first Serbian army, ordered the advance guard of his troops to reach at least the Szabadka-Baja boundary by noon on the 13th. Thus, as occupiers, they could dissolve the local Hungarian administration, and remove the Hungarian officials despite the fact that according to the first clause of the armistice agreement, the civil administration, the police and gendarmerie, as well as the railroad workers could continue to remain in place under the direction of the Hungarian government.

"In the north, to occupy the line which falls ten kilometers to the east of Fehertemplom-Versec-Temesvar-Arad; in Bacska, to occupy the line of Szeged-Szabadka-Baja; in the west and northwest, to spread the campaign to the entire territory of Szerem, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Hercegovina and Dalmatia."

/(Order of the Serbian Supreme Command on  
5 November 1918.)/

#### Submission to the Serbian King

France, which strove to play a leading role in this part of Europe, endeavored to aid the Serbian government in the attempt to create the largest and most unified state possible under its direction. At the initiation of Poincare, the president of the French Republic, the representatives of the three unification movements met in Geneva on 9 November (Nikola Pasic, the Serbian prime minister, Anton Korosec as representative of Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia and Istria, and Ante Trumbic, the representative of Croatian and Slovene emigrants). The participants at the conference signed a declaration on the unification of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia. The Serbian premier reaped a diplomatic victory in that (a) the Serb-Croat-Slovene State was not united on the territory of the Serbian Kingdom and the Monarchy, and since (b) there was no mention of the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina or of the later Voivodina. Serbia obtained these territories by right of conquest. At the conferences, the annexation of the Monarchy's Southern Slav territories to Serbia was at the request of the Entente powers. The agreement left the governmental form of the created state open, saying that the skupstina to be created must decide this.

But, the method of deciding on the governmental form provided the Serbian king with a much more favorable turn of events. On 24 November, the Slovene and Croatian bourgeoisie who did not possess their own military forces and who were frightened of the Italian conquerors and the intensifying land seizure and socializing workers' and peasants' movements, submitted to the Serbian king. On this day, the National Council of Zagreb adopted a resolution: they annexed the territories under their political supervision to the Serbian kingdom. Thus, the union was not an agreement between equal partners. The exception was the independent Montenegro (Crna Gora). A National Council was also formed here on 6 November, and this sided with the Crna Gora unification committee in Paris on unification with Serbia.

After these preliminaries, on 1 December 1918, the constitutional Skupstina of the Yugoslav peoples proclaimed the creation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca) under the rule of the Karadjorgjevic dynasty. On its behalf at this time, instead of the ailing King Peter, power was exercised by his son Alexander, the heir apparent and regent.

According to official ideology, the new state came into being as the unified state of the "three-tribed" Serbian, Croatian and Slovene nation. The first census in 1920 showed that of the nearly 12 million inhabitants, 18.8 percent were nationalities. This however, did not come close to reflecting the true situation. Besides Albanian, German and Hungarian inhabitants and other nationalities of approximately half a million each, the Macedonians were classified as Serbs and were also prohibited from using their mother tongue in public. In addition, the brutal oppressive system of the Serbian bourgeoisie elicited discontent from the Croats and Slovenes, who in reality, also became national minorities.

In 1941, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia broke up into its constituent components in less than 2 weeks, as a result of the attack by the Fascist states, only to be reborn after the War of National Liberation led by the Yugoslav Communist Party during the second world war, as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, comprised of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia building socialism.

#### Hungarian Losses

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 4/5, 1982 p 51

[Article by P.S.: "Territorial, Demographic and Economic Changes in Hungary, 1920"]

[Text] Our compilation was prepared on the basis of findings presented in the book by Laszlo Buday entitled "Hungary's Years of Struggle" (Budapest, 1923). Since at this time, the results of the 1920 census were not known, in this work the author recalculated the data of the 1910 census for the territory of Hungary after Trianon; thus, his published statistics naturally cannot agree with either the results of the 1920 census nor with the post-Trianon modified version published in 1930. We did not deem it necessary to modify his data since the difference in absolute numbers is so minuscule that there would have been essentially no change in the percentage distributions.

#### Territory

Historic state territory (without Croatia-Slavonia): 282,870 sq km

Territory of Hungary after 4 June 1920: 92,607 sq km (32.7 percent)

Population of the historic state territory: 18,264,533



Population of Hungary in 1920: 7,599,246 (41.6 percent)

Population density in the historic state territory: 64.6/sq km

Population density after 1920: 82.1/sq km

Distribution of Mother Tongues  
(in thousands)

In the historic state territory

In the territory of Hungary  
after 4 June 1920

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Hungarian	9945	6718	61.5%
Rumanian	2948	28	1.0%
Slovakian	1946	164	8.5%
German	1903	555	29.2%
Ruthenian	464	1	0.2%
Croatian	195	40	20.8%
Serbian	461	26	5.7%
Other	410	66	16.5%

Economy

Agriculture: The proportion of branches of cultivation in the territory of the country after 4 June 1920 compared to the same branches in the historic territory

Ploughed	43.0%
Garden	25.2%
Meadow	25.2%
Vineyard	68.9%
Pasture	30.6%
Forest	14.5%
Marsh	57.9%
Unploughed land	39.2%

Industry: The proportion of the population occupied in industry in the territory after 4 June 1920 compared to the same categories in the historic territory

Independent	46.2%
Officials	66.7%
Other auxiliary personnel	53.2%
Total	51.2%

Number of workers at plants employing more than 20 workers	57.0%
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Individual industrial statistics in the territory after 4 June 1920 compared to those in the historic territory

Number of factories and plants	48.9%
Horsepower of engines used in factories and plants	50.5%
Greatest number of staff for a given year	50.0%
Production value	55.9%

Individual industrial branches in the territory after 4 June 1920 compared to the same branch in the historic territory

Iron/Metal	50.7%
Machine	82.2%
Building materials	59.7%
Wood	22.3%
Leather	57.8%
Textile	41.8%
Clothing	74.7%
Paper	23.4%
Food	57.6%
Chemical	54.9%
Printing	89.2%
Total	55.9%

9956  
2500/436

ANTI-SFRY BULGARIAN BOOK DISPLAYED AT MOSCOW FAIR

Fair Officials Remove Book

LD121827 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1112 GMT 12 Sep 83

[Excerpts] Moscow, 12 Sep (TANJUG)--"Bugarijada" [TANJUG spelling], a book by Venko Markovski, a Cominformist emigre, has been removed from the Bulgarian stand at the international book fair in Moscow. The organizers took the decision to do so following a demand from the delegation of Yugoslav publishers, who assessed the book as anti-Yugoslav and as clashing with the fair's main motto, which is "In the Service of Peace and Progress."

The same as the two preceding fairs, this year's fair again did not take place without our neighbor, Bulgaria, trying to attract attention to itself with books abounding in anti-Yugoslav material and statements. In many books dealing with history, archeology or geography of Bulgaria, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia is presented as an integral part of Bulgaria and everything that took place on Macedonian soil during past centuries is presented as Bulgarian history. These "scientific" editions overflow with chauvinism, nationalism and great-Bulgarian pretensions. Their basic aim is to deny the existence of the Macedonian nation and to usurp Macedonian history and culture. In fact at this fair Bulgarian publishers were not merely content with usurping Macedonia, but also displayed books with even more direct anti-Yugoslav messages.

Thus, though a 5-year-old book which had already twice before been displayed at the fair, the "famous" book by the still "more famous" Venko Markovski (official Bulgarian poet, otherwise Macedonian, and, since 1948, Cominformist) was again on display this year. Entitled "Bugarijada--Zavetna predanja" [TANJUG spelling], the book is supposed to be a "Bulgarian epos," but in fact it is a pseudo-literary attack on everything Yugoslav. In his book the Cominformist emigre crudely attacks Njegos, Stephen the Small, Serbia and Serbian history, Yugoslavia of today and of tomorrow and its leaders and its party and social order.

The crude allusions to the great people of our history are probably an unprecedented example of the misuse of literature. In one of his "sonnets," Markovski speaks about the "self-managing leader" who "exterminates communists and the people" and "commits genocide." The Bulgarian official poet

asks in this "poem" "from whom he learned this" and replies: "From the Gestapo, from Himmler, from Hitler." Being a "genuine real Marxist," a little imbued with theology and given to retelling Stalin's attacks and the Cominform's resolution, he ends by pronouncing anathema: "May this flag-bearer of anti-Sovietism be damned for ever."

Apart from this one, two more of Markovski's books were displayed on the Bulgarian stand, testifying to the importance attached to him in Bulgaria today. Only one or two Bulgarian classics have three books each at the fair and Ivan Vazov is the only one with four books, while some of the important names of Bulgarian literature are represented only with one book or are not represented at all.

The delegation of Yugoslav publishers lodged a protest with the hosts and the organizers of the Moscow fair against this open and recurrent anti-Yugoslav provocation. It judged Markovski's book as out of step with the basic motto of the fair--"In the Service of Peace and Progress," and demanded its removal. Two days after the talks held in this connection, during which the organizers and hosts showed complete understanding, a representative of the fair's directorate officially informed that Venko Markovski's "Bugarijada" "had been removed from the Bulgarian stand."

#### Book Reappears

LD141657 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 14 Sep 83

[text] Moscow, 14 Sep (TANJUG)--The book "Bugarijada-zavetna Predanja," by Venko Markovski, Bulgaria's official poet, denationalized Macedonian and Cominformist, was again put on display by the official manning the the Bulgarian stand at the [Moscow] international book fair on the last day the fair was open to the public. As we have already reported, the Yugoslav publishers' representative was officially informed by the fair's host that the book, which attacks Yugoslavia in the lowest manner and slanders Josip Broz Tito, had been withdrawn. Some days later, however, the book appeared again on the Bulgarian stand, though in a somewhat less prominent place.

When a representative of the organizers of the fair went to the Bulgarian stand to ask for an explanation, there were no officials to whom he could talk. A delegation representing Yugoslav publishers likewise failed to obtain any explanation of this unusual development, which demonstrated the Bulgarian representatives' disrespect for the main motto, "In the Service of Peace and Progress," which symbolizes this year's fair.

CSO: 2800/470



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

SFRY-BULGARIAN BORDER MEETING--Sandanski, 18 Sep (TANJUG)--A Yugoslav-Bulgarian border meeting was held today, Sunday, in the Bulgarian town of Sandanski, within the framework of a Yugoslav-Bulgarian intergovernmental agreement. Apart from the population of the Macedonian town of Berovo, the meeting was also attended by the inhabitants of other eastern Macedonian municipalities. This time they crossed the border only with their identity cards. A programme in which folk troops and singers from the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and from Bulgaria participated was watched by some 15,000 people from both countries. [Text] [LD182203 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 18 Sep 83]

CSO: 2020/76

## ENTERPRISE DIRECTORS FIRED FOR LACK OF CONCERN FOR WORKERS

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 22 Jul 83 p 2

[Article by Ilirjan Visari: "Two Directors Who Spin Phrases and Slogans"]

[Excerpts] Upon the recommendation of the workers two directors who were negligent in their concern for the workers were fired.

In the enterprise for various products in Elbasan, an assistance and inspection group set up by the district trade union council uncovered a number of shortcomings and weaknesses connected with working and living conditions, labor safety and technical safety of workers. Although the agreement between the trade union committee and the directorate of the enterprise for the improvement of working conditions specified measures for remedying the situation, almost none of the measures in the agreement were executed. The bureaucratic attitudes, delays, and lack of concern of some enterprise directors and a lack of persistence and of control on the part of the trade union committee were the main reasons for these deficiencies.

The environs of the enterprise were filled with equipment and scraps of iron. A flower garden set up by the workers had been transformed into a "storehouse" for various things. When the workers brought up this issue, they were told: "We do not have any place to put material. We are short of space." The roof on the workshop has been broken for a long time and when it rained the workers had to cover the machinery so that it would not get wet. Several times they asked that measures be taken and criticized the director but after each criticism they heard "fine words."

At one time the enterprise had lockers and showers, but, at the order of the management, they were torn down and the space was converted to offices for the needs of the management. The director and some other comrades gave top priority to their offices and disregarded the concerns of the workers. All these attitudes were a result of the bureaucratic concepts and practices of the directors of this enterprise. The criticism from the workers went in one ear and out the other. In their words "they emphasized the voice of the masses" but in actual practice they did not listen to it.

Shortcomings and deficiencies were noted in the implementation of regulations on technical safety and labor safety. For example, in the welding-installation sector, welders and lathe operators were working side by side, without any

partitions, thus endangering the eyesight of the lathe operators. All these things cause anxiety for the workers who brought up these problems in meetings of the trade union organizations or in other forums but their voices fell upon deaf ears. The director of the enterprise did not feel any responsibility for these problems and gave excuses. When the conclusions of the assistance and inspection group of the trade union organization were presented, the director of the enterprise, Napolon Pulluqi, and another person from the management attempted to exonerate themselves with general statements and formal self-criticism. But after the workers had discussed the matter with party-mindedness and objectivity the justifications did not hold water. "The party and state gave us everything," the workers said, "Why are you not executing the duties which have been assigned?"

A similar situation was found at the work site of the construction enterprise in Elbasan District. The director of this work site, Riza Danski, had a negligent and bureaucratic attitude toward the matter of improving the workers working and living conditions. The tasks specified in the joint agreement with the trade union committee were not being carried out. When these matters were brought up for discussion the director acted arrogant, egotistical, proud, and vindictive. No one "dared" to speak to Riza to criticize him because he would "raise the roof." Several times workers complained about him. But he continued to act the same way, forgetting that, in Albania, the working class is in power, that it is above every appointment and that it retains as directors those cadres who carry out the party line and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who ally themselves and work together with the class.

In the broad discussion which was organized in the trade union organizations in regard to these matters, the workers stood up and strongly spoke out on all the weaknesses and errors demonstrated by these two directors. Just as an accounting is required in regard to the plan, also, even more, an accounting is required in regard to the working and living conditions of the workers, the party teaches us. Those cadres, directors or chiefs who neglect this matter or spin phrases and slogans around it, but do not take concrete measures to improve their work, Comrade Enver Hoxha says, should be replaced by others who are more closely connected with the class, who better execute the recommendations of the party and show concern for the workers.

On the basis of the opinion of the workers, the trade union council of the district proposed that the appointing organs remove from their assignments Napolon Pulluqi and Riza Danski, who bore the most responsibility for the shortcomings and weaknesses found in these enterprises. The opinion of the workers was implemented.

Although only a short time has elapsed since this problem was analyzed, the situation is changing. The workers are involved in a campaign to improve the work milieu and construct various hygiene and health facilities. This does not endanger the fulfillment of the plan as the former directors claimed. On the contrary, since their dismissal the tasks of the plan have been fulfilled even better.

When the class speaks, bureaucracy does not speak. In all things, the opinion of the working class is decisive because, under the leadership of the party, it is the class in power, it is the class which sets the tone for the entire life of the country.

## NEW, CONTEMPORARY DIRECTION IN ARTS URGED

AU151658 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Sep 83 p 2

[Review of 39th Volume of Enver Hoxha's Works, by Dalan Shaplllo, secretary of the basic party organization of the Union of Writers and Artists: "Revolutionary Spirit and Innovation are an Organic Part of Socialist Realism"]

[Excerpts] Some 15 years ago, at the 17th party Conference for Tirana in December 1968, Comrade Enver, among other things, spoke about a number of important issues concerning literature and art, such as the rapport between tradition and innovation, the meaning of socialist realism, the struggle against subjectivism, the deep knowledge of reality, and other problems. The treatment of these issues, which holds an important place in the 39th volume of his works, is a part of the great contribution that our party and Comrade Enver have made to aesthetic thought on a national and international scale. The lessons deriving from this, despite the fact that they were given such a long time ago, are applicable today and are valuable for a number of problems also in the future.

At that time Comrade Enver said: "We are opposed to the simplistic undialectical denial of tradition as well as to its deification." We have always been for an innovative and revolutionary art, but an art which reflects the development of life. This is achieved by relying upon the new life without ever removing ourselves from our progressive past and tradition, or from our new tradition of socialist realism.

Thus, our novels, which have achieved a lot during this period, should better, more deeply, and more extensively encompass the new aspects of life. The new character of our reality has been depicted in our novels, in their subject matter and also in their structure and contemporary color. But the extensiveness of life, the complex nature of the intellectual world of the individual, and the new facts arising from the construction of our socialist society have not been depicted in all their depth.

But this can be said also for drama, where achievements have been made and there has been a revitalization of theatrical life, but where there is also a need for a more correct rapport between the tradition of drama--as a genre of deep conflicts--and its dynamic contemporary temperament, and also the demand for it to more realistically reflect social conflicts, characters' inner struggle, and so forth.



The problem of tradition and innovation is closely tied to and derives from a correct understanding of the method of socialist realism. In 1968 Comrade Enver defined this method in a deep and dialectical manner, removed from scholastic formulas and rigid demands. He said: "Socialist realism is the faithful reflection of the life we are building in all its aspects, of the colossal material transformations which our country, our society, and our people are experiencing at a revolutionary pace, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and our party's perfected measures and decisions. But this socialist realism cannot be presented at all in static, rigid forms; it ferments, and it is in continual and permanent development. This Marxist-Leninist stand in the conceptualization of socialist realism is a great teaching for artists and a position from which to refute the bourgeois-revisionist accusations against our revolutionary art. This is not only a theoretically valuable orientation and idea, but a reality, an increasingly felt truth.

Comrade Enver, in his speech in 1968 and in many other documents, has spoken about the necessity of more deeply knowing life and the virtues of our people. This problem demands from us, as creators and communists, greater mobilization to find diverse forms, to better organize work, to know reality more closely, and to reflect the present in better works. These tasks require agility, encouragement, greater individual work with creators by the union's directors and communists as well as by all the experienced creative forces. We should do more work with young people who need deeper analyses of their problems and works. This should be done by the union and also by other cultural and educational institutions, where more specialized training can be done. We should also be more concerned with forming future critics and talents in the various fields of art.

The scientific and objective ideas of the party and Comrade Enver for the writers and artists' work has always been a great orientation, encouragement, and inspiration for new works.

CSO: 2100/73

IRRESPONSIBILITY IN WATER CONSUMPTION

AU151722 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Sep 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Respecting the Electrical Energy Quotas Should Be Considered an Unusually Important Duty"]

[Excerpts] Despite the fact that are now in autumn, the situation in our energy reserves created by the prolonged drought has not changed. The water level has fallen and the flow of the rivers is still below the average of recent years. Thus, using electricity with very strict thrift is an issue of vital importance for our economy, which cannot take a single step without it.

Tasks to save electrical energy, as one of our country's great assets, have been continually set. But now, under these conditions, this saving should not be seen as an ordinary task, but as an extraordinary one in order to overcome the situation that has been created. The superiority of our economy, our powerful and independent energy balance have made it possible for us not to have energy shortages, as happens in the capitalist and revisionist countries. But this fact should never result in carelessness by people, or by management cadres and specialists in work and production centers, in the leadership apparatus of the party committees and the executive committees of the district people's councils, and in the departments. On the contrary, we should think and work with a deep sense of responsibility, and with strong, continuous and all-round measures to ensure thrifty use of every watt of electricity. But what is happening in practice?

Facts and materials published recently show that a deep sense of responsibility has not been embedded in everyone, that liberal attitudes and actions which result in consuming more energy than the set quotas are not stopped everywhere and by everyone. As a result there is fluctuation in its consumption from day to day and month to month, which points to work done in campaigns. Here and there impermissible over-consumption has occurred. [Passage omitted giving examples of various enterprises and measures which should be taken]

If the necessary measures had been taken in time to minimize the losses and excessive consumption, the difficulties would be overcome more easily. The party organizations should lead the work of the state and economic organs in the enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and institutions in this respect.

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

WOMEN'S DELEGATION RETURNS FROM SRV--Tirana, 14 Sep (ATA)--The delegation of the Women's Union of Albania, led by the president of the General Council of WUA, Lumturi Rexha, which paid a friendly visit to the SR of Vietnam, returned home, yesterday. The delegation was received at the airport by the vice-president of the General Council of WUA Eleni Selenica. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Vietnam to the PSR of Albania Hoang Quoc Tinh. [Text] [AU141057 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 14 Sep 83]

CSO: 2020/75

GENERAL VELEV URGES HIGHER DISCIPLINE IN TRAINING

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Lt Gen Dincho Veleve: "Training Discipline and Its Requirements"]

[Text] 1

The participation of the troops in the training process is an important discipline indicator. The entire personnel of the unit in which officer Denev serves is involved in such training. Recently, the first tank company held fire practice training with full crews, which made proper training possible. This included all drivers, officers and sergeants. The mechanic-tuner, who is the deputy commander in charge of technical affairs, an officer from the Artillery Weaponry Service and the commander of the second tank squad participated in the exercise of preparing the tank and the weapons for firing.

The second motorized infantry company participated in a tactical training exercise with its entire personnel. Troops from the service company were used as a mock unit. The chief of service and a chemical instructor participated in the study of antiatomic and antichemical defense. No single officer or private was absent. In this unit as well, 100-percent participation ensures proper training.

Entire subunits with their officers assume detail duties, and so do staff officers, who are in charge of maintaining statutory regulations, securing the development of the training process and controlling the advance preparations of commanders and subunits for the following day's classes.

Both reward furloughs and punishments are rare. Leaves are planned and used in accordance with training plans.

Occasionally, urgent assignments face the unit, such as the arrival of goods for the food depot, a freight car with coal, etc. In such cases, should the work detail prove insufficient, people from the various services come to help, as in plants where should a worker fall ill and should his comrades be unable to do his job a member of the administration takes his place. The machines, however, do not stop.

The total involvement of the personnel is one of the many important conditions for the intensification of the training process. In some units, however, such



involvement remains low. More than one half of the soldiers were absent from the fire practice conducted by the third tank company of officer Pandev's unit. One platoon commander was on detail duty whereas the company was not. One of the gunners had been assigned to drafting duty by a superior staff, another was liaison with a legal service, a third was assigned elsewhere, a fourth was sick and a fifth was on leave. The situation in the other crews was similar and only one full crew attended the exercise. Yet we know that tank fire practice is a collective affair which requires the participation of the full crew. The absence of even a single person spoils the exercise. The commander of the third tank company set up several combined crews and tried to justify such absenteeism as "legitimate." That is how the company was tested. There was only one loader for several crews until the accident occurred. It is true that the tank fire course allows to draft as crew member a military serviceman from another crew within the same company. However, this is quite clearly considered an exception and no one has the right to make it the rule. Practical experience has indicated the the efficiency of mixed crews never exedes 10-20 percent. Such results mean that the exercise has failed and the marksmanship is virtually always poor.

Class attendance by the troops is decided not by the company commander but by his superiors. However, each absence has its explanations, justifications and reasons. For example, the mess sergeant, a career military, had a great deal of work to do, for which reason a private is assigned to help him. A private is assigned to the company master sergeant to manage the illegal depot. The staff "needs" a draftsman, someone to act as aide or liaison, a cleaner for a station, a gifted artist for an amateur performance at the people's army club, an athlete for the local sports society, and others to engage in a number of activities not directly related to combat training. The justification that whoever can kick a ball, play an instrument or sing can also shoot without training is groundless. Furthermore, most frequently those who cause accidents are regular servicemen assigned to a subunit but removed from the training process, the influence of the military collective and the control and training provided by their immediate superior.

No single staff officer with the exception of a deputy commander and an assistance operator were present at the classes at the end of the winter period in the unit of officer Pandev. One is left with the impression that it is as though this staff was not responsible for combat training. Furthermore, the deputy commander for technical affairs, the mechanic controller and the master sergeant of the company we observed were either detained or managed to be detained in the staff premises for a variety of reasons. Telephonogram orders followed one after another asking that troops be assigned for...to transfer..., to... The requestors were not instructing that the training process fail but the objective result was the same. Meanwhile, officer Pandev was wiggling like a fish out of the water. By the end of May his superior realized the difficulty and put an end to a large number of such instructions, as a result of which personnel training improved.

In order to reduce the daily waste of personnel and to increase participation in the training process greater technology should be used in safety measures, kitchen detail, etc. The party, the government and the people are struggling

to reduce work absenteeism and enhance labor discipline. What is the response to this on the part of some units?

The full use of training time is also one of the main indicators of the state of training discipline. "Today time is an important strategic factor," the minister of national defense says. In accordance with daily and weekly schedules classes must begin and end precisely at the stipulated time. Is this always the case?

Let us look at a tank company in officer Denev's unit. It arrived at the shooting range 1 hour ahead of time. The first shots were fired precisely the moment the class started. The class began on time because all staff services had helped. All rear and medical workers knew the time at which the company or battery would begin classes and when breakfast was to be served. The other staff services as well had done their work very well.

This was not the case with the commanders and staffs of another unit. One of the companies was 10 minutes late arriving at the shooting range. Some officers, even staff personnel, were astonished at the remarks, asking "What are 10 minutes?" Let us tell them that "Not only are 190 minutes a great deal of time but tardiness is a severe failure." The respective commanders must realize that time wasted can never be recovered. Instead of taking 3-5 minutes to announce the topic, the questions to be covered, the norms to be reached and the safety measures to be taken, the company commander spoke for more than 10 minutes. The company began practice fire 30 minutes later with only one full crew. However, several targets failed to appear. Two tanks broke down and there was a shortage of ammunition. A number of other reasons as well contributed to the failure of this training which started with a 3-hour delay and was inadequate.

The main reasons for such shortcomings lie in the style and method of management of combat training on the part of the staff which must plan everything accurately and observe the time schedule very strictly. We know that the work of commanders, staffs and services must be governed by the training process and the combat training of the units. We are touched by the actions of low- and higher-ranking commanders -- officers and sergeants -- who always, even during the most stressful times in the night, participate in the training and are always among the personnel. How not to be touched by the actions of cooks, rear personnel and technical and political officers who supply during the night hot tea or friend bread or help service the equipment and encourage the troops with words and personal example?

5003

CSO: 2200/138

SEXUAL FREEDOM CREATES SOCIAL PROBLEM

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Aug 83 p 5

[Article by Andrey Ivanov: "Is Forbidding the Answer?"]

[Text] Acceleration is a complex matter! Dad can no longer help his son with his mathematics homework, while mom is wondering how to make her daughter's school apron "more modern." These, however, are small worries. The real problems take place when both are faced with some "youthful transgression," when they find out that a grandson, until then just a remote prospect, is about to become imminent reality....

No statistics are kept in our country on the number of young families whose first child is born before 9 months from the day of the marriage. We know, however, the number of children born out of wedlock, the number of abortions and the number of divorces. Unfortunately, all of these figures are high.

To a certain extent, such sad statistics are the result of said acceleration, but only to a certain extent, for we can hardly justify by citing an objective process our own inaction and deliberate avoidance of touchy problems. Whether we like it or not, today's youth matures earlier sexually. The school, the family and the Komsomol organization discuss and pass on to the others responsibility for the sexual education of the youth. Meanwhile, that same youth is intensively "self-educating," with frequently disastrous results....

That is why acknowledging that sex as a whole is something more than merely a means of procreation is quite insufficient. We must seriously consider its consequences. They are simple: if two people decide to cohabit sexually without wanting a progeny they must know how to do this, without running into surprises; secondly, they must have access to the necessary preventive devices.

It is quite natural that abortions remain the generally only safe link in the chain of measures to prevent undesired progeny, for all other means are still in their "exploratory" stage. The situation will not change substantially even if a ban is imposed. Allow me to quote here a woman, Prof Dr Evtimiya Svetoslavova, chief republic specialist and director of the Scientific Obstetrics and Gynecological Institute: "It is difficult, it is exceptionally difficult (as unquestionably confirmed by practical experience!) to persuade a woman to complete her pregnancy if she has become unwillingly pregnant.

Having decided to have an abortion, such a woman is prepared to become the devil's ally, as the saying goes, but get rid of the unwanted fruit..."

If banned officially, abortion will not disappear. It will simply be practiced illegally by questionable people, under worse hygienic conditions and at a higher cost. In addition to the financial -- much higher -- cost, there will be a moral price to pay too.

Is there no solution to such alarming statistics? There is, but it is hardly as easy as it may seem on the surface. It requires years of persistent educational and organizational work. Any simple solution is only formal. It may put the conscience at rest but will not resolve the big problems caused by big children.

5003

CSO: 2200/138



## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO FINLAND--Helsinki, 16 Sep (BTA)--Bulgaria's newly appointed Ambassador to Finland Mr Ivan Vrazhilov presented his credentials to Finland's President Mr Mauno Koivisto. The ambassador conveyed to President Koivisto greetings and best wishes on the part of Mr Todor Zhivkov, State Council president. On his part Finland's president also conveyed his greetings and best wishes to Mr Todor Zhivkov. At the talk held thoughts were exchanged on the state and development of bilateral relations. [AU181453 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 16 Sep 83]

CSO: 2020/77

DETAILS OF TANK GUNNERY TRAINING RELATED

East Berlin SPORT UND TECHNIK in German No 7, Jul 83 (signed to press 15 Jun 83) pp 8-11

[Article by Harry Radke: "Firmly in the Seat of the Tank"]

[Text] Non-com trainees Michael Apelt, Uwe Kleessen and Uwe Hoppe along with the driver have all disappeared inside their T-55. The three hatches are locked. The tank, with its motor roaring, is standing at the starting line of the tank gunnery range. Everything is ready—combat ready. They must have received the order by radio: "forward, into combat!" There are two blasts from the horn; the motor is revved up; clouds of exhaust rise into the air; there is a cascade of sand as the tank moves off.

A few meters further on, the first targets come into view. A fireball comes rushing out of the tank's cannon. The shell can be made out as a small dot. At almost the same instant a deafening explosion can be heard. The shock waves from it make the windows of the control tower rattle.

Many a non-com trainee of Hofmann company at the NVA non-com training school "Rudolf Egelhofer" twitches instinctively. All of them are looking toward the target area as if hypnotized. It is their first tank gunnery exercise with 100-mm shells.

When you come right down to it, we should be able to hack it—Uwe Kleessen, Uwe Hoppe and me: Michael Apelt. We sure went through a lot of training and boning up.

Just the same, I am nervous. Just like before an exam. Not only because it is the first time we are firing 100-mm cannon shells. Today, we also have to give a good account of what we have been practicing singly until now to the point of perfection. And perfection is what is required of us. After all, we are being trained to become tank commanders.

Today's exercise just prior to the end of our training here at the non-com training school is the high point of our tank gunnery training. We have to take three targets under fire from a moving tank. They come into view for only a short time and they move. Depending on the target, we either fire at it with the tank cannon or the tank machine gun.

One of the targets must be fired at with all three tank shells—one after the other, of course. To score a hit, you really have to have your wits about you. Everything has to be done fast. You have to spot the target right; calculate right and aim right. After all, it is not only the target that is moving but your own tank, too.

Heaven help us if the commander makes the wrong decision; if the loader or gunner do not get off a proper shot or if the driver leaves us in the lurch!

The other two targets must be fired at with the machine gun.

And for the entire exercise we have just  $3\frac{1}{2}$  minutes—which is reckoned from the time we cross the firing line to the time we reach the cease-fire line. In all, it comes to 700 meters and they must be driven at exactly the right speed. Not too slow because then you run into overtime and have failed the exercise. And not too fast because then you do not have enough time from spotting the target to firing at it.

Sounds like very little— $3\frac{1}{2}$  minutes. But it is enough time to do even more. If things should ever get serious, then just a few seconds might decide on whether we fire faster than the enemy.

The target to be fired at with the cannon is 2.70 meters high and 3.50 meters wide. It bears the outlines of a tank; but its coloration is adapted to the terrain. At a distance of 1,400 to 1,600 meters it is hard to make out.

This target must be hit under all circumstances, if one wants to pass the test. Now that makes pretty good sense because what kind of tank commanders would we be, if we did not know how to fire a cannon.

As for which target comes first and where it pops into view—not even the man who runs the exercise knows that for sure. Today, it is Major Hofmann, our company commander, who is in charge. He radios his orders to us directly to the tank. And his pointers, too. But the targets themselves are electronically controlled. They are programmed—differently each time. Hit scorers and timers also operate electronically.

Now of course every crew member has to keep his sector under close observation. Anyone spotting a target immediately reports his findings to the commander by radio. And that is not all that easy! You cannot just have everybody yelling around. The report must contain specific information so that the commander can decide immediately without checking back what weapon will fire what type of shell at what setting.

We often practiced spotting the target from the tank. Under various conditions. Even at night. Given the limited sight from inside the tank, you first have to spot the enemy and identify the target—whether it is armored or not; whether it is moving or stationary. And you have to select the right weapon and the right type of ammunition. That is for the commander to decide. It is damned important for the crew to operate as a team—where everybody knows what's what and everybody does his job properly.

We did not have any problems in this respect. Hoppel—which is what we call Uwe Hoppe—and Uwe Kleessen are serving as short-service non-coms and as for me, I am a professional soldier.

From the very start at the school here all of us from our company of future tank commanders were assigned to permanent crews for the entire 6 months at the non-com school. The driver, who is the fourth man of the T-55 crew, changes. But we three take turns occupying the different seats in the crew compartment. We also learned how to drive. Because as commanders, we have to be familiar with every position.

Of course we go through every exercise three times because in gunnery practice like today the gunner gets the mark. He, after all, is the man who had his finger on the trigger. Nonetheless, all the other crew members, including the driver, have to do their job, too.

Having a permanent crew makes learning easier. We also live in the same barracks. And we often used our off-hours to motivate each other. Most of the time, it was Hoppel who started things off. Would I call him a teacher's pet? No, he may just be a little more goal-oriented than I. But I always went along because I want to set an example; because I want to perform. And that was a good thing and it paid off for us because we are now good at things and are right there at the top in the competition.

It is a man-by-man competition, all the way through the various crews; always according to performance groups. Everybody is assigned some other non-com trainee whom he competes with directly. That really gets you charged up. The marks, after all, are posted on the bulletin board. And then there are the crew-by-crew competitions. In the case of our crew it works this way. Hoppel, who is a highschool graduate, does a good job of explaining theoretical subject matter. Uwe, who is a machinist, has a quick grasp of technical diagrams and I, as a construction worker, have to have everything properly illustrated. So, we complement each other very nicely.

For today, we three went over every detail one more time to decide in what sequence we would fire. All in all, we ought to get a "2". At least.

Here we are at last! Now we have to get on our way—and it is high time, too. The whole rigmarole prior to each exercise including the endless repetition at the different stations or in the classroom does not really calm you down. And in talking to each other, we just get ourselves charged up.

The first time around, Hoppel acts as commander; Uwe is the gunner and I am the loader.

All right then, let's go. We go off to pick up our ammo. As the loader, I am given 35 rounds of machine gun ammunition and load them into the ammunition belt as ordered. Then we are given three tank shells. Each one of us carries one of the shells and the driver is carrying the machine gun ammo. So we go down to the starting line which is marked in white. There we put down our shells on a rack and take our positions behind the tank.

Korilafa—now that is not a magic formula to insure target accuracy but a simple reminder of the right order in which we must stand: the commander [Kommandant], the gunner [Richtschuetze], the loader [Ladeschuetze] and the driver [Fahrer]. Because when the control tower loudspeaker gives us the order "assume combat readiness" we cannot just start running about frantically and get in each other's way. Every step and every move must be right so that we lift the shells into the tank without making a scratch and stow them away inside; that we make the machine gun ready for firing and check out the weapons, the optical sights, the radio and the intercom. Everyone has an assigned function to perform in the tank. And then we dismount and line up once more.

A glance at the watch. How about that—we made it in  $2\frac{1}{2}$  minutes. We really are in good shape. Boy, look at Uwe next to me; how his hands are shaking. Get a hold of yourself, man! The first live shell is not going to get us old armored types upset! We have gone through worse—things like underwater driving instruction; deactivation and incendiary ammunition training.

Now then—the other crews are lined up next to us behind their combat training vehicles, as our T-55's are properly called.

Now it will not take long before we get the "ready for combat" order. 11 seconds will get us a "1" and if we take more than 13 seconds, we fail. But it will all work out fine. Like everyone else, the commander takes his place inside the tank, closes the hatch, turns on the rear turret light and the radio, puts on his hood like everyone else, gives the order to start up the motor, orders the gunner to switch on the stabilizers, has all these orders acknowledged and then reports by radio that the tank is combat ready and begins to scan the target area along with all the others.



Gunner, loader and driver have also gone through their entire program. All told, it took us 12 seconds this time.

That gets us a "2".

We are tensely waiting. Our callword is "Tinko 1." We can all hear the orders from the control tower on our radios. But when we use the intercom, radio contact is interrupted. For this reason, the commander issues very brief orders and they are acknowledged just as briefly.

Actually, it is not such a funny feeling any more being inside the tight space of the tank with all the hatches closed and the roaring 400 kW diesel motor behind us. The first few times it really got to us. To be alone inside the tank—it is pretty dark in there, you cannot see very much and everything is closed. It did not take us long to get used to it.

Now we have to pay attention and keep quiet. "Tinko 1 to Tinko 3. To combat." There is a short pause. The driver puts the vehicle in gear and double-clutches: "forward!" Our commander repeats the order "forward!" for our benefit. The motor roars. We cross the firing line marked in red. As of now, we are being timed. We have  $3\frac{1}{2}$  minutes!

Uwe has spotted a target: "straight ahead—tank at 2 o'clock." That means that the cannon target came up first. It will only be in view for 60 seconds. We have to stay loose! Hoppel has barely gotten out the order to fire including all the data for the gunner and the loader by the time I have already loaded the first shell. I confirm that fact. In the meantime, Uwe has moved the turret into position and aimed the cannon with the help of the elevation control mechanism in accordance with the distance, our own speed and the speed of the target. In our sighting telescope, we can see an upright, enlarged image of the target and various dials help us determine distance, range and aim for firing with the cannon or the turret machine gun.

Uwe is finished sighting. He yells "fire!" far too loudly and one second later he presses the electric trigger. The driver has depressed the clutch so as to minimize damage to the gears.

Through my loader prisms I can merely see a red tail of fire. For an instant, I can see nothing else. The tank lurches backward just a little. The cannon rises somewhat and the barrel recoils. The shell casing is ejected and drops to the ground with a thud. Acrid smoke starts to spread. Tears are about to form in our eyes but then the ventilating system starts to work. The roar of the discharge was not as loud inside the tank as we had thought. I can see again. It fell short! Damn! The next shell!

I am perspiring so much that my prisms start to cloud over in spite of the ventilation and heating system.

"Tinko 1. Correct your fire. Stay calm!" Our company commander up in the control tower is sweating things out along with us.

Hoppel gives the order to the gunner to "follow the target—distance unchanged." No wonder—considering the fact that the shell fell short. In the meantime, we have covered some more ground.

Man, Uwe really takes a long time. Let's go! Fire once again! You really think that the flash will hit you right in the face. A hit! Great. Let's move! "Ready!" "Fire!" The third shot was another hit. So it works after all.

And here comes a machine gun target. It represents a gun going by in a flanking movement. Hoppel gives the order to fire. I report that the machine gun is clear for action. Why doesn't Uwe fire? We have almost passed the target by now. He is incompetent! There we have it. The target has gone by. And he just did not fire—even though we practiced the whole thing a hundred times. There! The third target already. Everything is ready. Now at long last the machine gun has gone into action. Uwe lets go a short burst at first. A little too far to the left. Uwe follows along. One can hardly notice the turret moving; but the display equipment tells no lies. Now he fires a long burst. A hit. That's better. If we checked things out correctly, Uwe should have gotten a "3" for that.

We do not take much note of the way back. It is nothing new anyway. The driver steps on it and we go skimming over bumps which look harmless but inside the tank we are shaken up every time we hit the smallest one. Watch out for sharp edges. Always hang on to your seat. And don't forget to pull your hood down tight. Otherwise, you can get some bad bumps on your head. And set your feet down on the footrests. It would be dangerous to let them dangle down. After all, the turret revolves every time we make a turn. The stabilizer automatically sees to that. It keeps the cannon in a horizontal and vertical position in the direction set no matter what the vehicle does. At first, this was a problem for us. We could not get our bearings. But by now, all we have to do is take one look at the instruments. But we are no longer really interested. Even the driver wants to know why Uwe did not fire at the second target. Uwe would rather not say. It seems as though he is ashamed. "I forgot to switch the electric firing mechanism from cannon to turret machine gun," he finally admits meekly. "When I did notice it, it was already too late. How stupid can you get. It was a case of nerves."

When we get back to the starting line we are given the order "operation concluded." That means work for everyone again. The most important job the commander must do is to lock the cannon and the turret in place.

Well and then there are the other details to attend to as after every gunnery practice. Report to the ammunition depot/clerk. Evaluation of the exercise before the chief. Detailed evaluation complete with analysis of errors and repetition of theoretical instruction in the training class.

We were right. Uwe got a "satisfactory" rating.

Now we continue on from one exercise to the next. Hoppel makes out very well as gunner. He scores a hit on his first shot. His second shot is not a clean hit but a hit nonetheless. And his third shot falls short. And with the machine gun, Hoppel hits everything he fires at. A sure "1" rating.

And when I later have the gunner's job, I score a full hit on the first shot; the second round falls short but the third is a full hit once again. I also did a good job on the machine gun targets even if I did not hit the final one until my third burst. So, I got a "1" rating, too.

Then we dismount one last time for today. Our hands are full of grease and our faces are covered with dust. We have sore backs and are still a little deaf from the noise. But it is a great feeling. We have done it. Our crew as a unit did get a rating of "1" after all. I have a good mind to volunteer as tube cleaner—which is not pleasant work at all! Uwe does not look happy. There were only three men in the whole company who got a "3"!

For that matter, Uwe almost did us in. When Hoppel was our gunner, Uwe was our loader and he forgot to switch on the ventilating unit. It is amazing how much acrid smoke a shell can generate inside that tight crew compartment! Uwe and I had tears in our eyes so that for a moment we could not do any accurate spotting. Hoppel did not notice it at all because he had his face pressed tightly against the eyepiece of the telescope. For that one day, Uwe fell asleep at the switch far too often. There just was not enough self-assurance and routine, that is all. Such operations must run like clockwork, without the slightest hitch. It was no fun for Uwe that day. We spoke quite openly to him. It is not just a matter of ratings, after all. We do not practice merely for the sake of practicing but in order to become better soldiers. In addition to that—if we do achieve good ratings in our military training, we do our part for the preservation of peace.

My co-competitor also got a "1" rating. Now our contest will be decided by how well we do in sports. Matthias is a lot stronger than I. A construction worker like myself! But in his pre-military training in the GST, he had to work a lot harder than I. Physical education was not a really big thing in my vocational school. I guess it was my fault, too. 91 percent of the company actually completed the exercise which is said to be the highest average

ever for gunnery exercise 3 b for a company of future tank commanders at the non-com training school.

4 weeks from now, after we pass our non-com examination, we will graduate and be appointed non-commissioned officers and assigned to our units. Then we will have to show what we have learned. And we will have teach all the crews that they have to score a hit on the first try. That is what really makes a tank commander proud!

#### Armored Forces Non-Commissioned Officers—Commanders

As commander, a non-commissioned officer heads a crew and is subordinate to the platoon leader. He is the immediate superior of all the members of his crew and as such responsible for

- training, education, military discipline, watchfulness, political-moral attitudes, military bearing and military order of his subordinates;
- maintenance, use as well as proper and secure storage of ordnance and technology and the maintenance of the uniforms and equipment of his crew.

In addition, he must, among other things, organize and implement the combat training of his crew which includes tactical training, gunnery practice and physical education.

The tank commander is also expected to have a clear understanding and interest in machinery and motors as well as in electrical and control engineering and hydraulics. He must be a good maintenance man and must be self-reliant, decisive and circumspect in the leadership of his crew and must be able to cope with great physical and psychological stress.

9478  
CSO: 2300/354

WRITER HERMLIN SCORES BOTH EAST, WEST ON ARMS RACE ISSUE

East Berlin NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR in German Vol 31 No 8, Aug 83 pp 48-52

[Article by Stephan Hermlin, GDR writer: "Butcher Language"]

[Text] It would be enough to explain and justify our convention that, since our meeting on the Alexanderplatz 16 months ago, our concerns have not diminished but have grown. Many people will ask us once again, not without irony, what we really have in mind, what is supposed to result from a meeting of this kind. We do not have much in mind. We are only a few and we have no material power. But we are living among other people, who have different professions but the same concerns, whom we want to encourage not to accept what is intended for all of us, annihilation. It is a remarkable phenomenon that cowards and opportunists have always tried to ridicule people who declared war on war. Naturally we will again be told that we are acting out of vanity, primarily by those who are disappointed at not having received an invitation. It is obvious that every meeting of this kind cannot embrace the totality of writers, but only a part of the literary landscape. As far as vanity is concerned, we are vain like all men, although we probably have less of an urge for publicity than many people, simply because the public is already sufficiently occupied with us, which has something tiring about it. In short, it is like this: We are demanding loudly, not to be guilty. That is our motive.

Those who participated in the Berlin meeting of December 1981 will remember that I said at the time we should not deny each other the capability for peace. The participants refrained from doing so. But we must also acknowledge that, in the past 16 months, some people, writers, have denied other writers who live in the GDR this capability, and not just once, and not just in passing, but in the course of a voluble campaign which has already lasted several months. In this context, let us remember that the Berlin meeting of December 1981 was not heaven-sent, but came about on the basis of a broad ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical movement in the FRG, primarily on the basis of the writers' petition, which has now been signed by several thousand writers from all continents. The credit for having created this petition belongs to the two chairmen of the two German Writers' Unions, Bernt Engelmann and Hermann Kant, who, taking advantage of a favorable hour, had sat down together and worked out a brief appeal, which so many people of our profession from so many countries were then ready to sign.



A favorable hour is my name for the relationship between the two German states, which is far from being one of friendship but which is noticeably improved, and which is so important for peace and which many people had brought about with great effort in the course of the last few years. I am aware that I am speaking these words at a time when this improvement can turn into its opposite.

It is a time-worn experience that progress, achieved slowly and with difficulty, can be destroyed very quickly, that a discussion which has barely begun can be dismissed as "ideological murmuring." I remember with repugnance the years and decades of a boycott directed at writers, the campaign of silence, veritable / orgies of hatred and lies. It is all verifiable, documentation exists which proves that writers participated in these campaigns and that others survived this period by keeping silent. When a time like this is put behind us, when initial contacts take place, when people of different points of view talk to each other and listen to the arguments of the other person, when confidence in the other person is established, this benefits everyone. When other people immediately set about destroying what has just been achieved, this should not be accepted. Sixteen months ago I said--many of you will remember this--that we are not attempting to push our way into the politicians who have their important tasks to perform. But, I would now like to add, writers who concern themselves with politics, that is to say, with the questions of disarmament and securing peace, are obligated to behave in a political manner. Part of this is being able to separate personal uncomfortable surprises and hurts, which I not only respect in other people but have experienced myself, from important projects, which concern the life and death of humanity. Concerning the peace movement, many people have been talking very loudly recently, who inform us that they are ready at any time to make peace with themselves. With themselves means with countries and individuals who share their opinions, for example, on ecology and human rights. However, the problem of peace has always been bound up with the fact that it has to be concluded between potential or actual opponents.

I do not select my conversation partners on the strength of mutual sympathy, although I like many of them. I am building on reason and fairness. At the same time I tell myself that our possible differences are still less than those between heads of state, between Andropov and Reagan, between Honecker and Kohl, who are condemned in the interests of nations to seek peace with one another and who have expressed their willingness to do so.

I have read some speeches which were given recently at the congress of the Writers' Union of the FRG. It is a matter of indifference to me, whether or that Juergen Fuchs numbers me among the "new right." But he is wrong if he believes that the criticism of real socialism has anything to do with the peace movement. And I think of Erich Kaestner's admonition "shake head well before using," when I read that "real" peace is one "without weapons, without prisons, without camps," because then there will not be any peace, at no spot in the world, nowhere, and what exists, or still exists, cannot be defended. But I have been living for 38 years in a Europe without war and I have vivid memories of the time before that. Matters are becoming dangerous when I find a diatribe from one of Fuchs' sympathizers against "the detente fetish, which has been a stinking corpse for a long time." No one should have any illusions that for some time something has

taken root against the peace movement, naturally in the name of peace as well, for we have known since time immemorial that no one has ever thought of war, and a well-known singer, whom Fuchs would certainly not number among the "new right," recently wrote literally that the peace movement was "controlled by Moscow and the GDR," which sounds just the old right wing and promptly received the approval of the prime minister of Bavaria.

Agreements between the two German states, which were reached with great difficulty, are still in force, but what can we expect from the future when we read in an internal paper of the ruling party, which the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU published on 30 March, under point 20 that the objective is "to eliminate the German-German demarcation line, which is not a border in any national legal sense, with peaceful means," when we read under point 22: "We will never come to terms . . . with the communist dictatorship in the other part of Germany," and under point 23: "The situation will not be normal for us until the right to national self determination and general rights and freedoms hold for all Germans." Those who constantly attribute to themselves the "courage to speak the truth" and announce their uneasiness concerning detente will have to reconsider their own proclamations in the light of such declarations of intent, when they read in the aforementioned paper that detente has to be interruptable.

I said that the situation has deteriorated in the last 16 months. At that time, to the surprise of many, I quoted an open letter of the great dreamer Lenin to a German pacifist, in which Lenin talks about unilateral disarmament. I did, of course, immediately add that Lenin later adopted a different position, and with good reason. Today I do not think that one can recommend to the Soviet Union and its allies in good conscience, particularly as a German, to disarm unilaterally, when one reads the words of Reagan's disarmament advisor--that is his official title--Colin S. Gray in AIR FORCE MAGAZINE: "With the NATO plan to deploy 108 Pershing II and 464 land-based cruise missiles, it is not a matter of creating a balance or a counterweight to the Soviet deployment of SS-20s . . . NATO needs a substantial number of these 572 systems (or the equivalent), regardless of whether the Soviet deployment of SS-20s is reduced to zero or not."

The discussion of human rights is praiseworthy and important for all countries. It will continue. But I am not prepared to confuse this question with the peace movement, when I can read this from the well-known defendant of human rights Colin S. Gray, this time in the WASHINGTON POST: "To talk about the Soviet government in the context of a nuclear war means talking about a particular catalog of targets. . . . Let us assume there are 100 targets. . . . If we could hit all 100 targets, we would get every member of the Politburo, every member of the Central Committee, we would kill all the crucially important bureaucrats, we would cut off the head of the Soviet chicken . . . ." I challenge you to look for and find this butcher language in a newspaper in the socialist countries.

I am one of the citizens of the GDR, and there are many of us, who were proud years ago that the manufacture of military toys was not permitted in the GDR, in contrast to the FRG, France or England. For some time now the GDR has been caught up with other countries in this area, and I am not happy about it. I am also not happy about the recruiting of students by officers of the National People's Army, although I know that it is no different in the FRG. But, I must

confess, my displeasure is diminished when I read that Reagan said that "we will not be content to pillory it"--that is to say, communism--"we will rid ourselves of it. . . ."

I would like to ask you to think about the extent to which such openly stated intentions could hamper the peace movement in socialist countries. I ask you to remember that 3 months ago--yes, it was just 3 months ago--a resolution of the Warsaw Pact was published. Prominent politicians in the West expressed their pleasure at the time that the socialist countries had "moved," that the proposals would be thoroughly examined and taken seriously. Who still knows today what was in those proposals, who examined them, who is talking about them? Mr Reagan is now preparing to militarize space and call this a comprehensive peace plan.

In recent months, the Swedish government presented a plan for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, which included a part of the territory of the GDR. Erich Honecker responded to the plan to the effect that the GDR was willing to incorporate its entire territory into a zone of this kind. From the West came a clear "no," although it is clear that the creation of zones of this kind would simplify the solution of the total question, because the geographical space under discussion would be limited.

We came together here to talk to one another about how we can escape annihilation. I do not think that we should waste our brief allotment of time on questions which have nothing to do with our topic and which we know we will not be able to agree about. We are all equally motivated by the question of how we will stop war and warmongers.

Allow me to address one request to the journalists present. Remember, if you will, that Karl Kraus, whom Brecht called the German writer of the century, described the press as the one truly responsible for the war. I am well aware that journalists are not to be equated with editorial offices. But please do what you can to convey a comprehensive, not a selective picture of our convention.

9581

CSO: 2300/382

MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON KATOWICE TRADE UNION TALKS

AU141625 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview given by Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of trade union affairs, to Jerzy A. Salecki: "Representatives of the Authorities Reply to the Demands and Criticism of Trade Unionists"--date and place not given]

[Text] [Salecki] During the meeting in the Baildon Steelworks, many trade union activists addressed demands and criticism to the ministry which you head...

[Ciosek] Ye . A ministry involved with problems of work, wages, and social affairs is and always will be by the nature of things both a partner of the trade unions and a target of their criticism. We are after all treading on soft and socially sensitive ground together with the trade unions.

The conclusions we have reached from the Katowice meeting concern many problems, including a range of specific matters. We are also going to give replies to the detailed proposals voiced by the speakers.

I would like to dwell on matters which cropped up most often of all during the talks--basic matters. I can state with satisfaction that the trade union activists generally accepted the concept behind the wage system which has been worked out and submitted for social consultation. I would say they have accepted the philosophy behind this concept, which is based on the principle that wages ought to be paid for good work actually done and that wages should depend on productivity. We are entering a period when our intentions concerning this matter are becoming reality. This indicates the need to discuss many detailed matters with trade unions such as the shape of new collective work contracts, a completely new shape adapted to the independence and self-management of enterprises and one which takes into account the need to make wage decisions inside plants themselves. This has given rise to the idea of factory agreements between worker self-management bodies, managements, and trade unions.

I am not hiding the fact that demands to make wages in certain professions uniform are causing doubts, such as whether a mechanic working in a good enterprise should earn more than one in a bad enterprise who is working just as hard, or whether he should earn the same.



We have to work out a common stance with the trade unions on this subject. The aim is to create working conditions that are just. In those places where self-management bodies, managements, and trade unions do create the possibility for better working conditions, people should earn more. Where they fail to do so, one should seek ways of improving affairs oneself, and not point a finger at the top.

And one more matter. We cannot meet even the most justified demands concerning wage raises halfway if these do not achieve an improvement in productivity. We quite simply cannot make decisions which could prove suicidal for the economy and might delay our emergence from the crisis.

[Salecki] A series of remarks concerned the system of consultations...

[Ciosek] I will repeat what I said in Katowice. A system of consultations is only just being created, and there is no ready formula for it yet. So far we have used provisional formulas valid only for this year. The possibility of conducting correct consultations with representatives of trade union partners will exist the moment federations, national trade union structures, are born.

In accordance with the resolution of the Ninth Congress, the Constitution and the government's unequivocal policy, we will hold consultations with the trade unions on all problems, ideas, and plans in such areas as employment, wages, social affairs, and so on, as well as on socioeconomic policy issues.

We are also jointly establishing the technique behind such consultations. I wish to add that consultations, in other words, a form of asking questions about views, acquainting oneself with stances, and seeking optimum solutions together, cannot mean that one side in the consultations is always right.

I agree with the opinion of trade unionists that not all plans submitted for consultation have to be accepted in the form in which they were presented. This is not our intention. However, not all demands by trade unionists have to be fulfilled, either. Meritorious values have to emerge victorious, and not someone's opinion which is considered the most important. We are working on a system of consultation on problems and issues where several variants and alternative solutions are possible. The trade union movement structure which is being built will enable real and effective consultations to be held.

We have been accused of not holding full consultations, and this is correct. But how can we avoid leaving anyone out when we have about 17,000 trade unions today...?

[Salecki] There was talk in Katowice of traditional spheres of trade union activity...

[Ciosek] Vacations, sanatoriums, and various other forms of activity remain within the scope of the trade unions just as before. All the assets of the trade unions will return to the trade unionists in accordance with the laws.



Both the good and the bad side of the idea of giving the trade unions the right to broader economic activity than has existed so far are being considered. The voice of trade unionists on such matters as the use of factory social funds and other funds for financing social and cultural activity, allocation of housing and so on should be more influential than up to now. For the question is to distribute what little we have justly and in accordance with the feelings of the work forces.

[Salecki] Speakers at the meeting spoke of conflicts between the economic administration and trade unions inside plants...

[Ciosek] There can be no misunderstanding and insinuations on this issue. The rights and duties of the economic administration, the trade unions, and the worker self-management bodies are defined by laws and the legal norms stemming from them.

We wish to achieve an ideal situation and eliminate conflicts. We do not intend to restrict trade union activity and we will not defend representatives of the administration wishing to do so. We firmly desire to support those trade unions which oppose disorder, mismanagement, and incompetence. At the same time, however, we will oppose all trends to place trade unions before the administration. Relations among the administration, the self-management bodies, and the trade unions are still fresh: I think that practice will show whether the solutions so far have been accepted or whether changes are necessary.

One thing is certain: None of these three partners in the factory can join in cooperation on an unequal footing.

[Salecki] Thank you for the interview.

CSO: 2600/1320

U.S. DOLLAR COUNTERFEITING RING UNCOVERED IN LUBLIN

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 8 Sep 83 p 12

[Text] The Polish police have uncovered a counterfeiting operation. About 3,000 \$U.S. 100 bills were printed by three persons in a university printing facility. Of these bills, 1,000 were put into circulation.

The notes, with a "face value" of \$300,000, were run off by two printers on the exceptionally good equipment at Lublin Catholic University in early 1980. The bills were allegedly of undetectable quality. The chief organizer of the action was unemployed and 39 years old. He was the one who supplied the technicians with the genuine sample notes. The U.S. \$100 notes were being sold for between 13 and 60,000 zlotys; their value fluctuated with the black market rate. There are still several hundred of these \$100 dollar bills in circulation. In fact some have even left the country.

Among the distributors of the greenbacks is a Greek citizen who has lived both in Warsaw and on an island in the Aegean Sea. He is now in custody awaiting hearings with his other business partners.

The investigation is continuing. Interpol is also interested in the case.

CSO: 2500/457

JABLONSKI ELECTED PRESIDENT OF VETERANS UNION

LD302117 Warsaw PAP in English 1451 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Excerpt] Warsaw 30 Aug--Council of State Chairman Henryk Jablonski was elected President of the Zbowid [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] war veterans union at a plenary meeting of the Zbowid Supreme Council held at the government headquarters here today with Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski in the chair. Jablonski thus filled the vacancy after former Zbowid President Gen Mieczyslaw Moczar resigned last March.

Today's meeting discussed the war veterans' part in the ceremonies to mark the 44th anniversary of Nazi aggression against Poland and in the actions in favor of peace.

The debates were attended by representatives of all the currents of armed struggle in Poland during the last war: former soldiers fighting the defensive war of September 1939, partisans and members of resistance movements at home and abroad, ex-servicemen of the Polish Armed Forces in the West and the Polish People's Army, former inmates of Nazi concentration and death camps as well as participants in the struggle for People's Poland in the years 1944-50.

The meeting adopted an appeal to voice its concern over dangerous international developments and to call for uniting all patriotic forces in Poland on the basis of the program of socialist renewal.

CSO: 2020/74

GENERALS DISCUSS THEIR CAREERS, UNITS

Commander of Tank Division

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish No 25, 19 Jun 83 pp 1,5

[Article by Lt Gen Henryk Rapacewicz, Silesian Military District [OW] commander]

[Text] The 40th anniversary of the creation of the Polish People's Army [LWP] causes us to reflect, to look back in our thoughts and to make an accounting of its achievements, but also to consider what must be improved.

The achievements of the Silesian OW are confirmed each year by the results of the army-wide competition. They are reflected in the checks and inspections, the competitions and the marksmanship contests that result each year in the singling out of many units by the national defense through the awarding of medals "For Achievement in the Military Service" and "For Outstanding Achievement..."

The issue of the ideological-moral cohesiveness and preparedness of combat armies is the subject of special concern for us. All of our efforts are directed toward this end. We devote much attention to the ideological upbringing of soldiers and to the formation of attitudes of preparedness in defending the socialist homeland.

The upbringing system is perfected continually through the improvement of ideological-political training, cultural-educational activities (most recently within the framework of the Soldiers' Cultural University) and the development of socialist interpersonal relations. An atmosphere of good will and concern for subordinates fosters the readiness of soldiers to execute all tasks, even the most demanding ones.

We focus much attention in our work upon developing the social activism of the cadre and of soldiers. The participation of soldiers from the Silesian OW in the work of the various social elements is practically universal. This engenders the formation of the desired social traits and attitudes. We know that the vast majority of our former soldiers are good workers and socially active, responsible citizens that have the good of the socialist homeland at heart.

## Innovative Solutions

Concern, particularly among the cadre, over the high level of combat readiness of units, especially today, given the growing threat to peace caused by the militaristic course of NATO states, with the United States in the forefront, is worthy of the highest recognition. Thanks to human initiatives and the tremendous diligence of our armies, as well as their organizational skills and discipline, they are in a position to execute every task that is set before them.

The Silesian OW traditionally has been good at seeking innovative training, educational and organizational solutions. Here the idea of the socialist competition known as the Socialist Service Squads was born. Here, at the end of the 1950's, the problem of overcoming water obstacles by tanks at the sea bottom was solved and in 1967, a new way of overcoming deep water obstacles at the sea bottom, the so-called crewless method, was developed.

The initiatives of the Silesian OW that have served to enrich the training program of the military likewise include: conducting drills using the "loop" method, using a block system of training in branches of the services together with OPBMAR [expansion unavailable] and a new organization and new principles of training tank corpsmen in noncommissioned officer's schools, based on comprehensive practical combat training and the like.

We have noted many significant achievements in the area of the methodology of tactical training and training in firearms. The methods of integrated training and bilateral maneuvers have become widespread, lending realism and approximating conditions of the future field of battle in maneuvers. The idea of maneuvers in urban areas was born in the Silesian OW.

The consultative and field base is continually expanding and being modernized. Of special note are the facilities for training armies through the integrated system. Initiatives, actions and duties have combined to bring many facilities to fruition through the work of the professional cadre, civilian employees and soldiers in the ranks. Likewise, much has been done in the area of modernizing and expanding the social/everyday living base and the technical base of units. Further progress has been made in supplying the military with materials and equipment. Due to the constant improvement in professional qualifications of technical cadres, the quality of servicing and repair of equipment is increasing and the scope of recycling worn out spare parts is expanding.

In expanding the training base, we had in mind not only the effects of training but also the economical management of modern combat equipment. For example, in order to reduce the costs of using expensive equipment and at the same time to increase training results, many types of training programs have been used.

The creative presence of Silesian OW soldiers is noted today in all fields of social life--in the economy, science, technology, culture and education. Wherever the greatest effort and devotion, higher discipline and good work



organization and precision in operation are needed, our soldiers are there. Wherever specialized military qualifications are indispensable, whenever disaster strikes and whenever a calamity threatens human life and property, they are there.

#### Recognition and Authority

Particularly demanding and special responsibilities fell to the soldiers of the Silesian OW with the imposition of martial law in Poland. They executed every assigned task with honor. In the implementation of these tasks, they manifested concern over the fortunes of the socialist state and people, discretion and a sense of responsibility.

Even before the imposition of martial law, the cadre and soldiers of the Silesian OW undertook activity in local and municipal operations groups, giving decisive battle to waste and uneconomical management, excesses and poor work organization. They rushed to the aid of those who were wronged, resolved everyday human problems and solved the problems of cities, rural areas and hamlets related to production, procurement and transport.

Commissioners and the plenipotentiaries of the KOK [National Defense Committee] in industrial plants played a very positive role. Their discretion, skill and experience in managing groups of people and their well-wishing and skillful approach to employee workforces eased tensions and brought about more rhythmical work in plants.

One must also mention the role of local youth groups. Our youth activists aided weakened ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] elements in cities and rural areas. They disseminated forms of operation that have been tested in the military and they revitalized the activity of circles and boards. When they entered the reserves, many of them reinforced civilian ZSMP elements.

Former professional soldiers and the cadre played a significant role in the work of local party organizations. The resolute, unequivocally communistic attitudes, experience and skills of military comrades in resolving problems helped to strengthen and revitalize these party organizations. Activists in soldier's uniform gained tremendous recognition and authority. The result was that many of them were elected to the party authorities at various levels, even becoming secretaries of PZPR voivodship committees.

The Union of Former Professional Soldiers was extraordinarily active from the beginning of its existence. These very committed individuals, no longer young men, once again began the work of strengthening the people's authorities and the building of national understanding. They conduct and still conduct explanatory sessions for workers and youth. They devote much attention to the younger generation. They teach patriotism and respect for work and awareness of the values of socialism.

A tremendous number of former professional soldiers have worked in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] since its inception. They have helped to break down mutual distrust and to regain the confidence of

society in the authorities. Likewise, mediating between the organs of the authorities and the members of society, they help to solve various human problems. The professional cadre is likewise very active in PRON elements.

We also note with pride our work on behalf of society and the national economy. We would be hard pressed to find a region or a ministry in which no soldiers are working. They have shared in the implementation of such investments as the Legnica-Glogow Cooper District, the KATOWICE Works, the Gorazdze Cement Works and the like. At present, the soldiers of the Silesian OW, primarily from OT [Local Detachment] units, are executing specialized tasks for ten ministries of the national economy, including tasks of extreme importance in the ministries of transportation, metallurgy and the machine industry.

Among the plants in which soldiers that are in training work are: the CEGIELSKI Machine Industry Plants in Poznan, the Economy Car Factories in Bielsko and Tychy, the KATOWICE Works, the Kalisz WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant] of the PZL [County Communications Administration], the Lazisko Electrical Power Plant, the Jelczan Automobile Plants and the Malapanew Works.

Our soldiers in these plants are a model of discipline and diligence. Thus, not only do they increase our national income, but they have a positive impact on employee workforces.

It is noteworthy that each year our units produce thousands of soldiers that have been trained in a profession. In the case of OT soldiers, 100 percent of those completing their service have acquired a professional skill.

#### Cooperation in Training Programs

The 40th anniversary of the LWP is an occasion to stress the fraternal ties joining our soldiers and the soldiers of the Soviet Army. The brotherhood in arms, born in the tracks of the battles of World War II from Lenino to Berlin, is fortified every year, every month. It is fostered by the proximity of the stationing of our armies, but its essence lies in the community of goals and the glorious traditions of the struggle over national and social liberation. The tragic fate of both nations, the tremendous sacrifices borne during the Second World War and the attachment to socialism and love of peace constitute the unity of aims and desires.

The soldiers of the Silesian OW and the Northern Group of Armies of the Soviet Army maintain daily contact. They train in joint maneuvers on testing grounds and drill sites; they meet for holidays and anniversaries, and for no particular reason as well. This regards in particular soldiers in those units that are stationed near each other. This cooperation exists at all levels of command and between all branches of the military and services. Community meetings have already become a tradition, e.g., meetings of tank corpsmen, artillerymen and repairmen, whose purpose is the mutual exchange of experiences. These yield significant benefits on both sides. They raise the military expertise of particular specialists.

The joint artillery range groups of the subunits of the fellow armies are very valuable. Not only do soldiers enrich their knowledge and experience and learn to cooperate, but they develop real and lasting friendships with their fellow soldiers.

The joint training sessions of the leaders of political training groups and propaganda instructors, as well as the exchange of lecturers are permanent and very fruitful practices. There is no need to justify the educational benefits that accrue from such cooperation.

The effects of this comprehensive daily cooperation became apparent during the joint maneuvers. The high level of combat expertise and the skill of Soviet and Polish soldiers in working together is confirmed again and again.

The 40th anniversary of the LWP has become an incentive for the cadre and enlisted men of our district to work and serve even more productively and better. The ambition to serve the party and the nation faithfully unleashes new incentives for fulfilling military and civic obligations. This is manifested clearly in an increase in social commitment and sacrifice and higher quality training and service.

While we may boast of our exemplary achievements, we are also aware that there is still much to be done. Difficult and ambitious tasks await us. We laid out these tasks at our annual conference for training the leadership cadre of our district during the final months of last year. We began to implement these tasks beginning with the first days of January 1983, attributing to them the highest priority.

The basis for the successful execution of tasks this year is the constant search for effective organizational solutions, the more economical use of equipment and human potential, the further development of the move to recognize excellence and the joint competition movement, the spread of training-educational initiatives and benefitting from our experiences.

Factors ensuring the success of these plants are: abiding by strict discipline in the execution of tasks at all times and everywhere, consistency in training, effectiveness measured by the relationship of outlays to results, the cost of time and materials-equipment costs.

We are implementing 1983 tasks, realizing that they are difficult and complex. However, they do not exceed our potential and strength. We are aware of the existing situation, of the threat to peace caused by the militaristic route of NATO states led by the United States. We are aware of the proportions of the crisis in our country. Our people's army is the force that does more than merely guard our state security. It has tremendous ideological-educational potential, organizational skills and, above all, very committed, disciplined people: the cadre, soldiers and civilian employees. The expansion of this potential over its current levels of utilization not only will strengthen our defensive ability, but likewise will hasten our country's emergence from the crisis.

WOPK Deputy Commander

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Maj Gen Tadeusz Kojder, deputy commander for political affairs of the WOPK [Home Air Defense Forces]; material enclosed between slantlines in boldface]

[Text] We are sometimes known as the "soldiers of the first 5 minutes." This apt description that characterizes the WOPK succinctly is one that we entertain not without a sense of some satisfaction and pride. It reflects our responsible role and the importance and significance of the home air defense armies in the structure and tasks that have been implemented by the people's armed forces for 40 years now.

It is for this reason that in everyday leadership, training and upbringing practice and in the party-political work that accompanies this activity, we place major emphasis upon attaining a level of awareness and training that would make the words "WOPK soldier" synonymous with exemplary service and responsibility and the highest combat readiness, guaranteeing the effective performance of all tasks and the inviolability of our air borders.

That is

/a difficult and responsible task./

Our potential adversaries, who have dreamt for a long time of an anticommunist crusade worldwide and who would be happy to see the decline of the socialist system, contrary to the most vital interests of their own people and all of humanity, are stepping up the arms race, continually building up their arsenals and constantly perfecting their means of air attack. They reject the realistic disarmaments proposals of the USSR and the socialist states, increase worldwide tensions and advance dangerous theories of "limited" and "localized" warfare, tottering on the brink of general armed conflict.

We must counter these irresponsible acts, that also include plans for the deployment of new rocket launchers with nuclear warheads on FRG soil, with our determined desire to defend peace and socialism and the nearly 40 years of achievements of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]. This desire takes shape in our soldierly service and the performance of everyday training and combat tasks.

The WOPK is a relatively young branch of the PRL Armed Services. In 1982 it celebrated 20 years of service in covering and defending the Polish skies. During this period, it underwent a stormy evolution in all fields of military life.

At the foundations of the historic birth of our WOPK lay the heroic deeds of the military anti-aircraft fliers from the first LWP units set up on friendly Soviet soil. The unforgettable history of the First Anti-aircraft Artillery Division of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko First Infantry Division that took part in repulsing Hitler's raid on Kiev and Darnitsa and the struggles of the soldiers from the regiments and anti-aircraft artillery divisions throughout the combat trail of the LWP that ended with the victory in Brandenburg and in Lusatia belong in the pantheon of their combat glory.

These

/lofty and binding traditions/

have entered permanently the history of the units that continue the combat fame of their predecessors during the period of peacetime training.

Our anti-aircraft fliers have had many changes made in their combat equipment. Today they are artillerymen in name alone, for they use missiles instead. The missiles forces are now the foundation of the WOPK. They are characterized by great effectiveness and accuracy in operation.

Data from remote radar reconnaissance that missile units or subunits receive in the automated system of data transfer, supplemented and confirmed by our own methods of detection, ensure the accurate tracking of a target and the preparation of data for destroying effectively manned and unmanned means of air attack that fly from very low altitudes to stratospheric altitudes.

The WOPK fighter air force is equipped with the most modern interceptor planes. Their advantage is a wide range of velocity: from minimal velocity up to the speed of sound to maximal supersonic velocity that significantly increases the potential of an aerial maneuver. These planes are equipped with "air-to-air" missiles of various types, with various means of tracking a target. The use of additional take-off boosters allows the starting time to be reduced to a minimum and ensures that the proper altitude will be reached to execute combat tasks.

The radio-engineering forces likewise have traveled a great stretch of developmental road. This force creates a foolproof system for detecting airborne targets and for tracking them with our own air force.

These great accomplishments we have participated in during the past 20 years were made possible largely through the inestimable professional, technical and training assistance we have received from our Soviet comrades. Our specialists trained and still train in their schools and training centers. The excellent experience and advice obtained on their testing grounds have been of service in our everyday work. This is a manifestation, and the best example of international cooperation within the Warsaw Pact framework.

A measure of the effectiveness of our allied cooperation is the fact that our pilots have had the opportunity to use a series of 12 ever more modern types of Soviet-made combat planes during the postwar period. Let us add



that were it not for this brotherly cooperation, our forces would not have the missiles, the electronic equipment or the automated systems of command that they do; these are all symbols of how modern and effective our forces are and of how accurate they are in their operation.

Sharpshooting matches executed by our pilots and missile operators at testing grounds in the Soviet Union play a vital role in the process of training and strengthening the combat readiness of the WOPK and of deepening the bonds of brotherly service and friendship with the soldiers of the Soviet Army.

There, far from our homeland, in an atmosphere of the sincere sympathy of our Soviet comrades in arms, soldiers are subjected to the severe test in the practical use of modern combat technology. For many years, the soldiers of the WOPK have passed this exam with excellent grades. Usually the combat targets are destroyed with the first attack of our pilots, with the first missile, although the tasks on the testing grounds are executed in more and more complex and difficult conditions. Likewise this year, our missile operators and our pilots executed their tasks on the testing grounds with very good results.

The specific nature of service in the PRL WOPK, whose peacetime duty is to perform

/constant combat duty/

requires the constant improvement of command processes based upon concrete operational-tactical assumptions.

However, in the final analysis, the strength of an army is determined not only by technology, but above all by people, their ideology, patriotism, knowledge and professional skills.

In the comprehensive ventures that we implement in this important sphere, the applied-combat competitions known as the "Battle Expert" and the "Expert's Air Force Key," as well as the "Expert Missile and Radio-Engineering Subunit" that have been conducted for years play a vital role in the comprehensive undertakings that we are implementing in this important sphere. They represent the highest form of joint competition in specialist training. The saturation of the competitions with elements of applied combat and the high demands placed on candidates for the expert's titles lead to the raising of the combat readiness of units and create a strong incentive for competition for the privileged title of the best pilot or subunit.

Such an atmosphere engenders the development of such often outstanding specialists as the airborne battle expert in 1982, Maj Pilot Jerzy Kopec and such expert subunits as last year's expert missile subunit commanded by Lt Col Wieslaw Antoni Wysocki and the expert radio-engineering subunit commanded by Capt Jozef Badowicz.

Likewise, amid this atmosphere of noble competition and struggle for the privileged titles, new leading subunit commanders arise each year. And so, this year, 11 commanders received the title and gold medal of "Model Commander" and 7 commanders received a silver model, including Capt Jan Kubicki, commander of a training battery, Chief Ensign Henryk Barcikowski, company commander and military specialist first class. These likewise include Ensign Ryszard Czech, platoon commander, Staff Sgt Zdzislaw Halas, commander of a radio station, and many others.

Exemplary training, exemplary service and the exemplary performance of combat duties are the motto of the soldiers of our forces. This is fully possible

/due to the atmosphere of high-level ideological commitment/

created by commanders, the political apparatus and party and youth organizations. These include the First "Warszawa" Regiment of the WOPK Fighter Air Force, where a party organization and a PZPR committee are in operation under the leadership of the first secretary Lt Col Zdzislaw Gierdal, as well as the POP [Basic Party Organization] missile subunit, whose secretary is Chief Ensign Henryk Pajor. We have more similar leading party organizations in units and POP subunits. Thanks to their systematic work, the PZPR ranks are growing, the ideological attitudes of party members and candidate-members are being molded and the atmosphere of fervor, commitment and responsibility in everyday, difficult service of soldiers is being preserved. The basis of operation of the professional cadre and the soldier is the deep awareness of the execution of the combat task in farflung defense borders and the conviction that on them depends the country's safety.

Everyday life supplies us with many examples to confirm this. This awareness is manifested in the attitude of people, in their attitude to the duties they perform, which is reflected in the form of entries into the "Honor Book of Soldiers' Deeds." The following members of WOPK ranks have had the privilege of being entered into this book: Col Tadeusz Lewandowski, pilot-cosmonaut Col Mirosław Hermaszewski and last year, regular soldier Corporal Wiesław Piatkowski, whose decisive attitude and action during the performance of guard duty thwarted the perpetration of a serious criminal act directed against the law and the state.

Last year the number of those entered into the "WOPK Book of Merit" likewise increased. New entries included Col Franciszek Pamula, expert class title holder Lt Col Pilot Ignacy Jonik, Lt Col Jan Antoni Wawrzyniak, Lt Col Edmund Włodarczyk, Chief Ensign Czesław Firek and Citizen Barbara Kusiak, senior telephone operator, holder of the expert class title in her specialty, merited leader in socialist work.

Professional qualifications, efficiency and innovative attachment to one's branch of the service enable us to maintain a high level of combat readiness of our armies, to improve the system of combat duty and to streamline the command system. Thanks to this, the WOPK has entered the jubilee year of the LWP 40th anniversary with significant organizational-training achievements and progress in practice.

The large number of efficiency experts, innovators and inventors includes Lt Col Kazimierz Pawulski, Maj Jan Chuda and Ensign Jan Mitiajew. Thanks to them and hundreds of enthusiasts and people full of initiative like them, many innovative plans arise each year, of which 80 percent or so are put into practice. Last year alone, 60 million zlotys was saved on this account, and the savings over the past 20 years is more than 880 million zlotys.

The soldiers of the WOPK continuously perform their combat duty,

/they guard the Polish skies./

The effective performance of this fundamental task demands the constant improvement of skills serving modern technology and the mastery of the military profession. Allied cooperation with the Soviet Army, implemented daily within the framework of the integrated air defense system, is very helpful in this regard.

The joint efforts of soldiers and the aspiration to execute their tasks in an exemplary manner bring the soldiers together in their maneuvers, enable them to make direct contact that in turn strengthens their brotherhood in arms and allow the ties that join WOPK soldiers and Soviet Army soldiers to become stronger and broader during peacetime service.

This year's celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the LWP is, in all our units, a rich source of inspiration revitalizing propaganda work to remind soldiers, especially those in the ranks, of the road traveled by our nation to the historic May victory as well as to present the prospects for our further development and the role of the Warsaw Pact in ensuring the peaceful development of the states of the socialist community.

We wish to establish these truths within the consciousness of the younger generation of the defenders of the people's homeland, bringing them up on the progress, patriotic and international traditions of the Polish nation and the military, so that they will cultivate with the proper reverence the memory of those that struggled for the freedom and independence of our country, and after its liberation stood in the first ranks of those that built People's Poland.

The soldiers of the WOPK, aware of all the changes that have been made throughout the postwar history of our homeland, celebrate the coming LWP anniversary by their conscientious service, by perfecting their combat readiness and by strengthening further their cooperation with the air defense armies of the Warsaw Pact states, that determines the reliability of the defense system and the inviolability of the air borders of our socialist homeland.

Silesian Military District Commander

~~Warsaw~~ ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with the commander of the Soviet Army Heroes Tenth Sudetan Armored Car Division in Opole, Maj Gen Edmund Bolociuch, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski]

[Text] [Question] Before proceeding to a discussion of rational management, please tell us a little about yourself.

[Answer] Am I supposed to divulge my secrets of how to become a general?

[Question] Many of our younger readers that dream of an officer's career envisage having the general's stripes in their future.

[Answer] I was born a year before the outbreak of war. I graduated from the liberal arts high school in Wroclaw. In 1959, at 20 years of age, I completed the Wroclaw school for mechanics.

[Question] In the WSOWZ [Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School] traditions room in Wroclaw, your name stands among the foremost students.

[Answer] Yes. Later it was as if I began my life anew: I led a platoon, for nearly 5 years, and then a company, for a somewhat shorter time, only 3 years. From this position I was directed into studies at the General Staff Academy.

[Question] What was the subject of your thesis?

[Answer] I discussed the problem of using tactical assaults in combat operations. This topic, which I broached within the confines of a theoretical academy, I was soon to verify in life, at a drill, as commander of a regiment. After 5 years, I was directed into studies at the Woroszylow General Staff Academy of the USSR Armed Forces in Moscow.

[Question] It is said that the Woroszylow school is the school of generals.

[Answer] That is only partly true, since I was named division commander only after practical experience, and I received my promotion to major general only 5 years later.

[Question] There is no hiding the fact, however, that you, Citizen General, became the commander of the Tenth Armored Car Division having "barely" attained the rank of lieutenant colonel and having "barely" reached age 39.

[Answer] Yes, that is true. However, I am somewhat older than that now.

[Question] Is it not true that few officers have had such a brilliant career in our military?

[Answer] Let us get to the subject.

[Question] Okay.

[Answer] In speaking of rational management, we must know two things: what means we have at our disposal and what we wish to gain. We are all aware that the crisis does not pamper us--and that goes for the military as well. It would not be right if, given our difficult economic situation, we demanded material resources in the same proportions as in former years. Our minister and our premier as well, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, put the issue clearly: "This is the beginning of a great offensive on the most difficult peacetime battlefield--the economic field." This means that on the one hand, we must execute more and more complex training tasks--in the barracks and at drill sites, and on the other, we must expect our material resources to be more limited.

[Question] Citizen General, do the commanders at all levels in your division understand fully the complexity of these problems? Are they aware of the responsibility that is theirs?

[Answer] The vast majority of the professional cadre and soldier-specialists understand very well that it is only by economizing and by efficient management that we will be able to execute difficult tasks in full. There are those, however, fortunately only a few, that take every step possible to acquire larger amounts of material resources, in order to be successful in implementing training objectives. I have two excellent examples illustrating, on the one hand, the economical management of the allotted material resources, properly understood, and on the other, wastefulness and failure to understand the situation. During drills at a testing ground, one of the units went 300 km on 1 ton of fuel and another went less than 180 km.

[Question] Is there any way to justify the actions of the less thrifty unit?

[Answer] The weather conditions and the land conditions were the same for both units. One group may have been at a disadvantage because they had somewhat more pieces of equipment. In no event, however, should the difference have been so great. Personally, I am strongly opposed to finding the simplest solutions at the expense of organizational weakness and ordinary indolence.

[Question] How can this situation be resolved, when training tasks are in no way reduced over former years?

[Answer] Training tasks are more difficult, and they are becoming more and more difficult, more complex; such are the requirements of our times. Economizing operations must be comprehensive: we must better prepare the graduates of the various military institutions from an organizational, methodological and technological viewpoint, ruthlessly demanding the implementation of the integrated training of subunits based upon the garrison training base, markedly reducing the number of pieces of equipment used and other material resources.

[Question] How is it possible to execute more extensive training tasks using fewer pieces of equipment?



[Answer] Modern combat equipment is very expensive to use. Upon analyzing obsolete material resources in the past, we became convinced that two-thirds of the costs are for the use of various vehicles, and one-fourth is for ammunition. We decided to find reserves in these two fields. For example, we decided that it is not necessary to bring out all our combat equipment for summer or winter drills or for combat firing drills. If, for example, the tanks of one subunit are at a firing ground, the next day another subunit can shoot from this same equipment. This saves the costs of transporting the equipment to the testing ground and the fuels indispensable for tanks and other combat equipment during the transporting from the unloading station to the camp and the combat equipment park, and from there to the shooting grounds and drill sites.

[Question] Does this mean that mechanics-drivers of tanks and other combat equipment will be undertrained?

[Answer] We have considered that. We are making broad use of substitute equipment, training equipment, imitators and simulators, and we will continue to do so. Such equipment, which is the domain of military efficiency experts and inventors, can enable us to save much fuel and ammunition. We can train mechanics-drivers of the various vehicles and gunlayers and the operators of the various weaponry as well in this way as on basic equipment.

[Question] Citizen General, are you not afraid that, despite the best intentions of commanders, some training tasks will diminish in depth and scope?

[Answer] We will not become superficial. In the course of many drills, we have already practice-tested our ideas to ensure that the organizing of a division group of combat equipment to reduce the amount of equipment used by a half fully guarantees the training needs of the next units that will be training.

[Question] Would it not be better if such groups of equipment were organized at testing ground headquarters?

[Answer] We have considered that and we believe that that would be the best solution, yielding the greatest savings not only on the level of only one division such as the one that I lead, but on the level of our entire Armed Forces.

[Question] In what other ways is it possible to economize?

[Answer] The possibilities are very great and we are using them consistently. For example, the oscillating positions found at drill sites near barracks enable imitating tank movement without a motor and the need to drive. Under conditions that exist near barracks, the gun and machine gun stabilizers are activated through the use of an electrical current transmitted from the network. Under testing grounds conditions, on the other hand, we must use current-producing assemblies that consume relatively large amounts of fuel. This can be avoided if electrical power is conducted into drill testing grounds. Obviously, this does not refer to tactical drills, where the

power is conducted into drill testing grounds. Obviously, this does not refer to tactical drills, where the movement of equipment and its independent operation are necessary, but such drills are used for less than one-fourth of the training program. The same or similar oscillating stations may be used for the combat work of self-propelled guns, infantry combat vehicles and the like. The idea is to eliminate entirely the operation of the main motor during certain training stages, while at the same time ensuring that the crews are fully training and served during combat work.

[Question] We understand that all these actions will save not only fuel and ammunition but likewise will extend the life of modern combat equipment, that is the most expensive to use.

[Answer] All our efforts run in this direction. We already have concrete results.

[Question] We could ask in a roundabout way whether training does not suffer as a result, but let us formulate our question directly: How was the Tenth Division evaluated during the last inspection?

[Answer] It received a good evaluation. I should add, however, that last year, like many other units of our army, we were largely tied down with the execution of difficult martial law tasks. We also performed these tasks with distinction, gaining society's approval of our actions and recognition for the army.

[Question] You must have taken great pride last year as a division commander being promoted to major general.

[Answer] I certainly did. However, it is more important that at the last annual conference of the leadership commanding cadre of the Armed Forces, the Soviet Army Heroes Tenth Sudetan Armored Car Division received a medal "For Outstanding Achievement in Military Service." The members of the division were honored for their training achievements, their good, patriotic attitude under martial law, their rational, economical approach to training and their understanding of our country's desperate economic situation.

[Interviewer] Citizen General, we wish you and your division continued success. And thank you for the interview.

Airborne-Assault Division Commander

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 1-2-3 Jul 83 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Marian Zdrzalka, commander of the Sixth Pomeranian Airborne-Assault Division, by Witold Kiedacz]

[Text] [Question] General, you head the Sixth Pomeranian Airborne-Assault Division. Will you tell us the Polish traditions of this type of unit and parachute formation?

[Answer] The Sixth Pomeranian Airborne-Assault Division, that has been in existence since 1957, takes its origins from the Sixth Infantry Division. The latter arose on USSR soil in 1944 and began its trail of combat with the battles to liberate Warsaw within the framework of the January offensive; the Sixth DP [Infantry Division] took part in liberating the central city quarters. Next the Sixth DP participated in overcoming the reinforced defensive positions of the Pomeranian Bulwark, gaining the Kolobrzeg stronghold and liberating Western Pomerania. Finally, the Sixth DP was active in the northern wing of the Berlin operation and was one of the first Polish units to reach the Elbe on 4 May 1945. The division received the name "Pomeranian" for its combat service in liberating Western Pomerania and its particular regiments received the name of "Kolobrzeg" regiments.

Following the return from Germany to Poland, from 1945 to 1947 the division did border patrol, guarding the southern border of Poland and taking part in the struggles to strengthen the power of the PRL within the framework of the WISLA task force. That is one part, so to speak, of our tradition. The second aspect is linked with the history of Polish parachute formations. Mindful of the share of the large Polish unit at World War II battle fronts, specifically the First Independent Parachute Brigade led by Gen Sosabowski, we have the red beret and a similar parachute decoration. The name of the battle in which Gen Sosabowski's parachutists took part, the Battle of Arnhem, was engraved upon the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers, and Gen Sosabowski's ashes, transferred to Poland, are laid to rest at the Powazkowski Cemetery. The soldiers in our division took part in setting in a commemorative plaque dedicated to the First Independent Brigade and an honor company of the division participated in returning Gen Sosabowski's ashes to Poland.

Apart from this, we remember and hark back to the traditions of the storm battalion of the LWP [People's Polish Army] parachutist unit. This was a special unit that was part of the First Army and was used to execute diversionary-reconnaissance tasks; the larger subunit was dropped at the enemy's rear to reinforce partisan activities. I should also like to add that the traditions of the Polish sport of parachuting from the 20 years of the interwar period are not alien to us.

[Question] It is thought popularly that the parachutist armies belong to elite units. Do you agree with this?

[Answer] Yes, I believe that our division is one of the elite units. First, this emanates from the personal, deep patriotism of the soldiers; second, it derives from the specific nature of the operation and the designation of airborne-assault armies. It should be kept in mind that we are that unit that is designated to initiate the encirclement operation. That is the special nature of airborne-assault armies. Dropped through the air from planes and gliders, as were the soldiers of Gen Sosabowski, the armies initiate the struggle from the rear of the opponent through encirclement. Next they either penetrate through to their own armies or they wait to join them. In this sense we are an elitist unit, since we serve tactical and operational ties that operate in the main direction. Moreover, we try to ensure that these services are executed properly...

[Question] General, the special, and even elite status of the unit requires that the soldier be prepared in a special way. Consequently, I would like to know the basis of such preparation, particularly in the mental-volitional sense.

[Answer] That is the primary motive of both our training and educational activity. As soldiers, we are all prepared mentally for the fact that we initiate combat operations from the enemy's rear in small independent groups, often cut off from supply sources and our own units. We know (and this is very important) that our "elitism" consists in this case, i.e., under contemporary conditions, primarily of destroying the means of transport of nuclear weaponry. We are aware of the fact that the destruction of several launchers can save several hundred thousand or even several million people's lives. Thus, the soldiers are aware of the purpose of the operation; they know that their task is to execute this first, most difficult and dark task. But there are also the traditional objectives of airborne-assault armies, such as the destruction of an opponent's logistical system or his communications, the seizure of specific borders, crossings, mountain passes, sections of the sea coast or areas for assault landings. And these are services performed on behalf of large units that utilize a large striking force and much penetrative power.

[Question] To what degree are the elements of the Polish military traditions used in preparing a soldier for these tasks?

[Answer] Our training-educational system is "set up" to make the soldier aware of the purpose of the operation. We do this with daily, systematic, arduous training work and political-educational activity. We make reference to the traditions of the Polish military art; the operations led by Stefan Czarniecki, the hero of "Potop" and even Sienkiewicz's Kmicic serve as models for us. We prepare the soldier for rapid, speedy, decisive action, for making incursions, inroads behind enemy lines; hence we require from every soldier a heightened state of independence and readiness to avail himself of every situation he encounters at the drill site or the battle field. The next issue, the issue of the brotherhood-in-arms and discipline, is also related to this. We understand soldierly brotherhood to be above all the desire to come to another's aid, to cooperate; it is the understanding that my action serves my colleague, another subunit, that I am in battle not only for myself. Thus, the battle is a joining of the actions of all specialists: storm troopers, engineers, communications personnel and the soldier that guards the rear, often executing a less vital task but a task without which the battle cannot take place.

[Question] General, two terms and two formations are often confused, the parachutists and the commandos. What is the difference between these two?

[Answer] Let me put it succinctly. As a tactical unit, the classic airborne-assault unit, we reject units known as "commandos" and we do not adopt their principles and mode of operation. These units exist and operate in the West, within the NATO pact. They are special subunits, military careerists that perform tasks that are not only military, but political, as well as other

tasks. This is alien to us and that is why I believe that using the term "commandos" with reference to our soldiers is inapt. Keep in mind that even the soldiers of Gen Sosabowski's brigade were described with a different name, the term "darkly stealthy."

They were prepared for drops, domestic operations and for executing reconnaissance-type and diversionary tasks, but never for executing terrorist acts. However, the tasks of the NATO commando units include such acts as terrorism. We do not identify with this tradition and we do not wish to have anything to do with it. We are specially selected to execute tasks that are strictly soldierly and military in nature, that comply with international military law. Such things as terrorizing people do not belong among our tasks and I emphasize that we would never want to perform such tasks.

[Question] Will you please explain the term "airborne cavalry"?

[Answer] The concept of an airborne cavalry appeared during the period of the Vietnam War, and the Americans organized the first such units. It is based on the notion that a soldier of an airborne-parachute unit is seated in a helicopter that becomes for him a means of transport and battle. These units perform a storm trooper role; thus, their task is to storm from the air. With the aid of the helicopter, the soldiers approach the target of attack and neutralize the opponent by firing from the armed helicopter. Then they assault and perform specific military tasks; their departure also takes place with the use of the helicopter. These tasks are executed very rapidly, hence one of the trump cards of such units is their great maneuverability and mobility. I believe that they are units of the future, since the helicopter is a means of transport that does not require an airport. One can hover close to the ground without landing and supplement the classic parachutist's tasks.

[Question] Now the final question: Do you believe that the day of the parachute is over and that the future belongs to the helicopter?

[Answer] As a parachutist, let me say that the great airborne-assault operations of World War II proved that these were successful operations and that in each of them the parachutist army achieved its objectives. The fact that not all of them were used by land units is another matter. For example, Montgomery's MARKET operations, in which Polish parachutists also took part, succeeded, but GARDEN failed, since Horrocks' tanks did not arrive in time. The current development of airborne-assault units in two of the greatest military powers of the world, the USSR and the United States, proves that these are units of the future. Currently, the parachute is being superseded by the helicopter as a more perfect means of air transport. Personally, however, I am convinced that the 20th century is the time in which airborne-assault formations will continue to develop, be transformed and be supplemented, if only by adding a helicopter to a parachute. But I do not envisage their demise, only their further development.



JABLONSKI ADDRESSES SOBIESKI EXHIBITION OPENING

LDO30456 Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Sep--An opening ceremony of an exhibition on King Jan III Sobieski, attended by President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, was held here today in the Wilanow Palace (a favorite residence of the victorious king) to mark the 300th anniversary of the Vienna victory.

Opening the exhibition, Henryk Jablonski said:

The 300th anniversary of the Battle of Vienna is celebrated with due ceremony in two countries, Austria and Poland, and in both cases this is clearly justified.

Sobieski could not have been omitted in the pantheon of the greatest national heroes for what he did and even for what he wished, though failed to succeed. The greater his image must have appeared in the eyes of his future generations the more difficult was the nation's situation.

Jan III Sobieski was gradually becoming, as his legend grew ever more popular, a symbol of not only strength but also, to an ever greater extent, the symbol of his own nation's struggle for independence. The relief of Vienna sets an example of how striving to secure one's own freedom is linked with solidarity towards all those whose freedom is threatened.

Henryk Jablonski went on to say:

Sobieski deserves the highest appreciation as that Polish monarch who stubbornly fought to restore the internal [?strength] of the state and opposed its disintegration by destructive forces of the magnates, not sparing sharpest words to condemn the anarchy which was spreading.

Do we not feel like the heirs of his glory and his earnest aspirations to a strong, sovereign and law-abiding state, different from the present one with respect to its class character and political system, but still a Polish one, ours?

These questions are simply rhetorical for there can be only one answer to them, Henryk Jablonski said.

The first visitors at the exhibition included [Democratic Party Chairman] Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the PZPR CC Cultural Department Witold Nawrocki, and the chief of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army, Vice-Minister of National Defense General Jozef Baryla.

The ceremony wound up with a concert given by the soloists and the company of the Warsaw Chamber Opera.

CSO: 2020/73

## ADAM SCHAFF VIEWS CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES OF MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 4, 22 Jan 83 pp 4, 5

[Article by Prof Adam Schaff, honorary chairman of the Vienna International Institute of Social Sciences, member of the Club of Rome Executive Council: "Without Insinuations"]

[Text] Once more we are faced with the "Polish question," which spills over Poland's frontiers fretting international politics. Today, the "Polish question" is obviously different from what it was when it arose for the first time in the 19th century. What was at stake then was Poland's rebirth as a state earlier liquidated by its neighbors; today the point is not to allow Poland to be liquidated again. This shows how high the stakes in the struggle now under way actually are, a fact many are blind to, or prefer to be so. These two situations are cardinally different, yet their international implications are similar: once again, all Europe is being potentially drawn into the whirlpool, thus jeopardizing its present political structure; once again, certain forces are trying to turn Poland into an object of international bargains.

That situation is reflected in attitudes--both at home and abroad--to different Polish political problems. In Poland, these matters are usually treated with a wink and with disbelief, which derives its deeper sense from the conviction that it is Russia's fault, and that Russia is behind it all. Similar beliefs are expressed in the West, yet without beating about the bush: it is not Poland, but the Soviet Union that is important, both as regards causes of events, and aims of NATO's political actions.

Insinuations are psychologically unhealthy, especially when they promote various hallucinations of wishful thinking, which, in Poland's emotionally tense atmosphere, and in view of the Polish social character with its anarchizing aberrations, cause confusion and reinforce attitudes of socially dangerous negation. Better, then, not to back away from an imposed taboo, and better to give up the delicatessen d'esprit, which induces one to pass things over in silence, in favor of presenting the naked truth, brutal as such revelations may be. What's the use of "discretion," if people discuss things anyway, yet often without understanding their real sense? So, let us pick some such "questions" for public vivisection.

## Yalta and the "Polish Question"

The big mistake was made in Yalta and Potsdam, for without those agreements Poland's political system and political situation would have been different, and, of course Poland would develop without a hitch. Many Poles take this belief uncritically for their own, while Western propaganda tries hard to reinforce this conviction--deliberately and "critically" this time--with the intent of undermining the situation in Poland. Cunning propaganda specialists call "Down with Yalta!", and, unfortunately, some naive Poles believe this is possible.

Let's start with the brutal truth, which annihilates all such beliefs, that the Yalta and Potsdam agreements can only be abolished by a new world war, and this would produce a new division of the globe by the victorious powers. But since nuclear war can be ruled out,--for, pondering a repartition of an atomic graveyard, where suicides rather than victors would be buried, is pointless--ravings about revoking Yalta can be buried on the cemetery of abortive ideas. At least, such ravings must be abandoned, if one intends to stay in the world of political realities. Perhaps this discussion should start with pouring a bucket of cold water on the heads of daydreamers. But this is just the first step in the therapy, because in fact the first question to answer is: what is the real meaning of the results of Yalta and Potsdam with reference to Poland?

In Yalta and Potsdam, the leaders of the three victorious powers: Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, struck an agreement outlining Europe's new political shape after the victory over Nazi Germany and its allies.

This was tantamount to a new division of influence zones between the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union.

Regarding a future independent Poland, these agreements changed its prewar borders by accepting in principle the "Curzon line" in the east, which had been intended as Poland's boundary after World War I, and, in compensation for the territory lost in the east, granted Poland regained territory up to the rivers Odra and Nysa Luzyczna, lands Soviet and Polish soldiers had to pay the price of blood for.

Regarding Poland's political system, the agreements made general references to political democracy, saying nothing about a socialist form of government.

The situation changed, when relations between anti-Nazi allies evolved to the point of imminent war, this time among themselves. What induced changes in stance at that time were not only ideological, but political and military reasons. At this point, we are not assessing their accuracy, we only ascertain facts.

What, then, are the advocates of "revoking Yalta" getting at? Do they intend to claim [former Polish] Eastern territories, together with the cities of Lvov and Vilna? No, that is not what all this is about; today, apart from

A few people, there are no such high-flying visionaries in Poland. Or, perhaps, the idea is to give Poland's Western territories back to Germany, for there are advocates of such changes over there [in Germany].

No, this is certainly not the case. What is then? The point is, to extract Poland from the Soviet Union's sphere of security. But, assuming this was decided in the Yalta and Potsdam agreements is a ridiculous misunderstanding; this was decided by Poland's geopolitical position, with Poland having its longest boundary with the USSR, and, on top of this, being the only socialist country surrounded by socialist countries alone. Yalta had nothing to do with this. Poland's geopolitical location cannot be shifted at will, however unpleasant this may be to some.

Advocates of changing that location, whereby their longed-for change in Poland's political system would be possible, should blame not the Yalta agreement, which, I repeat, changed nothing nor was the decisive factor in this respect, but the Lord, who, as Polish the bard Wojciech Mlynarski puts it, gave the Poles this "geographical longitude and a Slavk face."

No, that whole hullabaloo about Yalta is simply political nonsense. If Poles talk such stupidities, the torrent of nice but politically senseless words flowing in Poland during the past two years will hardly surprise. However, surprise is justified when such voices are joined by serious politicians, and socialists at that--as it happened in France, Poland's long-standing friend--who are apparently not very strong in Europe's geography, and whose view of France's wartime history is blurred by de Gaulle's typically French complex over being excluded from talks between the big powers, including the Yalta negotiations.

With misunderstandings over Yalta cleared away, one is, however, left with a certain "remainder," which deserves attention: whatever happened in Poland during the last two years, advocates of such convictions say, resulted from Soviet pressures and menaces, for, without these, events would have taken a different course, would have gone the "Polish way," that is, in the spirit of Solidarity's political postulates.

Is that really so? Let us analyze this, setting aside all insinuations and "fables."

Caution: Are They Here or There?

What is involved here is a specific Western mythology which, stirred up by anti-communist propaganda, has shaped the consciousness of many layers of [Polish] society: had there been no brutal Soviet interference, or no threat of Warsaw Pact troops intervening, Polish events would have developed along the lines Solidarity extremists had laid down, and socialism would have been "dismantled" (to use KOR's terminology). I am simply stating this as a fact, but I haste to add that it takes a total political ignoramus seriously to believe anything like this. Let me substantiate this opinion.



Such reasoning is quite ubiquitous, and carefully fostered, not only among ordinary men in the street, but also among some politicians, if their words really reflect their thinking on this matter.

Much worse is--and this upsets me most--that such reasoning is being spread in Poland, where people ought to know better and should be more realistic, but they are not, which is evidenced in the guise of false political estimates, and of naivete, a deadly sin in politics, as Solidarity's rise and fall has shown.

Why not look at this matter without prejudices and without treating it as a taboo. Let us be explicit about it.

Is Poland's foreign and domestic policy visibly influenced by the multiple ties Poland has with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries? Of course it is. It would be politically naive not to notice or understand this, and politically ridiculous to deny it. Let us put the matter more acutely, almost brutally: may there be pressures, if what is at stake is defense of the socialist system in Poland, or even defense of a definite model of that system? Yes, there may, and it would be silly to try to deny that. Once more, I am only ascertaining facts, I am not trying to assess them.

But as far as Poland is concerned, the origin of these facts must be explained.

Poland is part of the so-called socialist community, an economic, political and military community. It is an outcome of post-war history, and this remains a fact which cannot be abolished unless by an earthquake of a new world war [we have explained why no illusive hopes should be pinned on such an earthquake]. That history also embraces deep transformations in social and economic structures, as well as in social consciousness, including acceptance of socialism's basic achievements, irrespective of how critical some people may be of these. Yet, this has deep consequences. Every community displays certain regularities and needs which surpass those its constituent parts do. Specifically, the socialist community is politically interested in maintaining the socialist system in all its members, for otherwise it may face disintegration. Not only ideological reasons are behind this, but also the community's economic and military foundations, as well as its stakes in the struggle between the two systems, the socialist and the capitalist. Who fails to "apprehend" this struggle or understand its acuteness and depth, even at the time of so-called peaceful coexistence, understands nothing of international politics today.

That is the argument which all socialist countries defend and will continue doing so, for their very existence is at stake. This argument will also be defended by those who believe socialist states should solve their internal problems on their own. The underlying assumption here has always been that what are involved are internal matters of socialist countries, and that their character will remain unchanged.

But a simpler, rather one-ideological thing is involved in this, too: the defense and security of the socialist community. From time to time, these matters are given priority, because, again, competition and struggle between the two ideological camps may come into play, which threatens to burst out into another world war.

Let us transplant these general observations into the concrete Polish landscape, and apply them to the course of Polish events within the two past years. We will get the following results regarding the matter of interest to us: namely, just what influence socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular, have upon the course of these events; obviously, there must have been fears, or even pressures, to secure the socialist system these events were jeopardizing, and to maintain full order and security to transport lines from the Soviet Union to the west. If that surprises anyone, his discernment and his realism in assessing international relations must be questioned. That was bound to happen, and was quite normal, especially in view of the strange character of Polish events. One thing remaining to be explained--and one that happens to be the most important point in our reasoning at this point--is the matter of whether the course of events was influenced by these warnings and the imminent menace alone; or would, without them, Polish events have taken an entirely different turn.

I say the answer to that question must be a downright "no," which means withdrawing from those who ascribe the Polish events to, or solely to, foreign interference. Stating this explicitly is very consequential, not only for assessing these events, but also for outlining their further development.

Like other European societies, Polish society is internally diversified and divided. No one can deny that, due to historically understandable causes, Polish society has strong anti-Russian and anti-German phobias. The former were deliberately fanned by amateurish politicians who lodged themselves inside solidarity; these [anti-Russian phobias], it was argued, exist because socialism had been introduced in Poland without acceptance by the majority; because Polish society, which is deeply connected with the Catholic Church, is distrustful of, and even resentful of, Marxist ideology; because mistakes in implementing socialism in Poland had evoked social bitterness, etc., so there is now considerable opposition in Polish society toward the model of socialism currently implemented. That is a fact, and it is the political and ideological groundwork for the difficulties Poland is currently going through.

But to say the conclusion that this applies to all of society, that no one would oppose a change in political system, or not even in its Polish model, had there been no outside threat, is simply nonsense--yes, nonsense--which could only be accepted by wishful-thinking political ignoramuses or deliberate provocateurs intending to play their international political domino game by cynically using Poland as their instrument, which they had written off from the very start anyway. No one can reasonably deny that such "others" do exist in Poland, that they are many, or--and this is by no means an imponderable thing--that they have a strong hold on the so far intact apparatus

of power. In this case the general term "apparatus" is used, which may be misleading as regards their number or significance.

Recall that at that time [August 1980] the party had some 3 million members, who, together with their families, made up the considerable number of 10 million people. If one adds to this the "apparatus" of the armed forces, police, state and self-management officials, who were in one or other way connected with the existing political system through their own vital interests, one shall get a multi-million army of potential opposition to the opposition. To this one ought to add one more "trifle," namely the peasantry.

According to all--truly untampered with--opinion polls (many have recently been carried out), the peasantry supports the government, being against unrest and riots; they are private farm-owners, but perhaps precisely because they own land they fear any sort of unrest. Hence it follows that those "tall-tale" tellers who from Solidarity's 10-million-strong membership (who ever counted them?) concluded that all Poland supported Solidarity's policy (which one? that of extremists?), were deceiving themselves. A great part of society, perhaps even its majority, were doubtless against the policy of the "extreme." And to them one ought to add what those "tall-tale" tellers had overlooked, namely that this very part of society--opposing public life anarchization by the "extreme"--had the apparatus of power in their grip: the armed forces, police, special [anti-riot] units. This apparatus, as we have already said, was untouched by the course of events and, as it later turned out, fully "action-ready."

These were facts one ought to have kept in mind, if getting ready for the "final battle"; someone who does not think about such matters while trying to present himself as a revolutionary, proves to be [mentally] destitute, a quality completely ruling him out as an actor in that game.

The armed forces, police and special units, well armed and well trained, are not a trifle. In such matters one cannot afford to be a visionary. Today, one may hear sobbings that the blow had been prepared for months because its precision was too good to have been an improvised act. But that fact was never concealed; on the contrary, it was being "leaked" aloud, in order to sober up the "enthusiasts," but they would not listen, they said they were being bluffed. Warnings to that effect could be heard in official statements by Polish leaders. These warnings should have been heeded, relying on common sense, which would have led them to the simple idea that if Mr Jurczyk and others were calling aloud, and in public, for communists to be hanged, then the latter would not wait with their arms folded, but would first--if the necessity should occur--hang gentlemen like Mr Jurczyk and Co., for they [communists] had at disposal the means which Mr Jurczyk did not. This, as practice has proved, without the hangings being carried out, was quite unnecessary.

And that is, as Germans say, der langen Rede kurzer Sinn: the blow at the opposition, which had brought Poland to the edge of an abyss of civil war,

was an "internal" one, and, in the given situation, it was bound to come on the background of Polish society's deep division. The outcome had been a foregone conclusion, due to one side's overwhelming superiority and the other's weakness. Fortunately, this preventive blow saved the country from a catastrophic civil war, from thousands of casualties--and, in result, from intervention by foreign troops, which would have been the inevitable in view of the socialist community's military interests (securing east-west transport lines). Apart from shedding crocodile tears, the West would certainly not have even lifted the proverbial eyelid, to the distress of those fools who acquire all windings were absolutely convinced that "Americans will not let it pass." It would have been enough just to listen to what Haig (in his capacity as secretary of state) had said twice and in public, and Luna repeated on behalf of NATO.

That blow was bound to come anyway; its causes as well as motive forces were internal, Polish. Does this mean there had been no pressures from the socialist community's member countries (not only from the USSR) to put an end to serious and forestall civil war? I assume there were pressures. It is also known that warnings were to be heard. It could not be otherwise, for only the politically blind could presume that socialist countries would sit back with their arms folded and wait until someone would "dismantle" their system. Not even this changes the fact that the events were Polish and acted out on Polish, that they were, and will remain, Poland's internal affair. But neither does this change the fact that the whole matter had international implications and context, for these amateurs on "dismantling socialism" were exceptionally eager in that game, which must have naturally provoked reaction not only from Poland but from the whole socialist camp as well.

#### Strategic Variables

Noting that nowadays a great political game is under way with the superpowers as the main actors is a truth so obvious that it is almost platitudinous. Conflicts keep breaking out all over the globe, but the strings of the plot converge in the same centers. Unfortunately, this also applies to Poland.

Certainly, this will not be simplified. Obviously, it is wrong to say events of the past two years in Poland resulted from Western subversion and propaganda alone. Such arguments in no way help the cause. On the contrary, they are detrimental to the cause, for hearing exaggerations and one-sided arguments the masses become distrustful, and this obscures, or at least helps to obscure, undeniable facts that different Western centers were unfolding hostile intrigues in Poland. These intrigues, which were directed at "dismantling" Poland's socialist system, are an objective fact, without which one cannot understand the course of Polish events.

The Polish events began as a spontaneous protest, mainly by the working masses, not mainly against reformations in Poland's economic policy. One must not be allowed to deny the obvious fact that the overwhelming majority of the working class supported that movement at one time. These were no enemy agents or hostile forces; it was the Polish working class, the rightful subject of

proletariat's dictatorship, which rose against deformations of authority and began forcing that authority to make concessions, not only economic, but political concessions as well. No one had been allowed to deny this obvious fact, no matter how unpleasant it might be to the image of socialism, because not only would this make the situation impossible to understand, and, so, to improve, but would also bar the road for any argument against that movement's deformations, a road of protest, to people's minds, who then are prone to dismiss all this counter-propaganda as a lie. This creates a very dangerous situation, especially as regards its political consequences.

This spontaneous movement, in which the Catholic Church played an important role up to a given moment, was soon penetrated by different Polish opposition centers, which were sometimes totally opposed to each other in their political tendencies, as KOR to KPN, but the movement also became a logical target of "interest" by overtly hostile centers abroad and their agencies in Poland. One ought to remember that these centers had long before counted on Poland in their calculations, when they were watching Poland's economic disintegration, and, in my opinion, actively helping this process; viewing Poland as the epicenter of moves intended to destroy the socialist camp, and thus to commence the global "dismantling" of socialism. It was no coincidence that two years before the "Polish summer" General John Backett published a book on the outbreak of a third world war.

In the science-fiction genre, this book (in many translations, also a Polish one published by a branch of the Paris-based KULTURA periodical) demonstrated to the wide public one strategic variant of simulated [war] games performed at some American centers. In the book, the war begins after social unrest breaks out in Poland, which calls forth an international conflict. Not surprisingly, this conceivable outbreak was carefully prepared by all means: active agents, financing the movement, etc. These actions were intensifying as the opposition movement was expanding, and [state] authority weakening. The future will reveal details of these actions.

At this point suffice it to say that while spontaneous sources of the opposition movement in Poland must not be denied or concealed, one must not deny or conceal the role foreign centers hostile to socialist Poland played in delegitimizing that movement. These centers, as could be seen, cherished great hopes in connection with events in Poland. The main task was to force the Soviet Union to stage an intervention, which would have compromised the East as an aggressor, and would serve as a hoax to all Europeans, thus making them susceptible to putting up with U.S. aggressive military actions in Europe.

What disappointment, and what irony, must have been evoked by the fact that events followed a different course: without an eruption, without any intervention, efficiently, within several weeks the danger looming over Poland was shattered, almost on the eve of the long-awaited dramatic events of December 17 [1981]. Incidentally, how terribly this compromised the CIA, if it showed such an utter misunderstanding of Polish affairs! I can understand there may have been ripples within Solidarity's leadership,



very confident in their wiseful thinking, who neglected the fact of several hundred thousand members of the armed forces and police, and who were not aware of the state of mind of these forces and their combat readiness, but an intelligence network (as big as) CIA!

Thank you, gentlemen! James Bond & Co. evidently exist in service only. Anyway, why look for the 007 type, when a little discernment and common sense would have sufficed! The disgrace, apart from all other things, was so great that it was decided to release the hoax about Polish forces being Soviet troops in Polish uniforms.

And then came the proverbial skunk in the woodpile: President Reagan began taking his "revenge" on the USSR for its failure to intervene by applying sanctions—against Poland.

Many politicians and journalists, and by no means progressive ones, pointed out that we're fully against the background of its aim declared in the U.S.

The Soviet Union cannot be hit that way, even if one intends to force it to intervene; Poland can fully live up to the needs and tasks arising in that matter. Unfortunately, unless Europe decides to aid Poland, which would be against the will of the U.S., but in line with the sound assumption that a continent with a "sick man" in it is a sick continent itself, Poland may be destroyed eventually. This may be the aim American reactionary politicians may have in mind, but if the latest Polish wave of emigres (who left Poland in 1956 and later) offer a helping hand in this dirty job, they enter the realm of deliberate national treason. And that is how such people should be treated: as traitors to their own nation.

Thus, the situation becomes absolutely clear: there are certain powers in the West, which treat Poland as an object, not a subject, as a pawn in their international "desire" game, a "pawn" which can be cynically sacrificed even though it represents 16 million human beings. That fact ought to be properly assessed when Poland reviews the list of its allies and "allies," and practical consequences should be drawn from this fact. Even so battered a country as Poland now happens to be may one day repay in kind those who left it high and dry when in need. Let no one count on Poland's short memory in that respect, Poland will remember.

What's to be done?

Reflections on the international context of Poland's situation are, as we have already said, not only of a theoretical meaning; they doubtlessly influence Poland's plans for action. In this respect one ought to distinguish between two aspects: shaping Poland's foreign policy and relations with other countries, and the overall social activities in connection with the current international situation.

In trying to answer the question: "What's to be done next?" in respect to the first sphere, one ought to answer that it stems directly from the previous

thought on that matter. Within the complicated mesh of international relations and within the all-deciding policy of the superpowers, Poland has obviously become the subject of games now played.

In these games the U.S. and its NATO allies have chosen Poland as a substitute target in the belief that by economically destroying Poland they are thereby weakening the Soviet Union.

This is the "philosophy" underlying Reagan's anti-Polish sanctions.

However, irrespective of the assessment of such a policy's effectiveness, the imperative and only conclusion is: to tighten even more [Poland's] bonds with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community, for only they, now even more clearly than before, guarantee Poland's boundaries and independence, while also being the sole effective bulwark in Poland's economic crunch.

Ever more Western newsmen indicate that America's policy brings about effects exactly opposite to those intended, which puts Poland in a situation of having no alternative that would be favorable towards the West.

As to Poland's internal policy, after a period of turbulence, and of relative calm connected with martial law suspension, when Solidarity policy's bankruptcy has become conspicuous, the only task that remains is to overcome the crisis with a new edition of the old slogan of "working up from the foundations," which, in present conditions, also means consolidating socialist social relations.

Then will come the time when emotions will subside to give way to rational thinking, and so Poles will recognize the merit of those who, through what was no doubt a painful operation, prevented a seemingly inevitable slide of society into an abyss.

The slogan "working up from the foundations" can be reduced to that meaning simply "get down to work"! Unfortunately, this is not an attractive slogan with Polish society; the guilt for this is borne both by recent and earlier Polish history, out of which the social character of Poles has emerged. Nor is this a new slogan, which might attract people by its originality. But it is the only realistic slogan; so is the above-discussed case of international relations, due to the compulsory situation in which Poland has found itself.

Even if someone does not like it, one must remember that the alternative is a total calamity.

(10) 2040/128

## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Party Concern for Workers' Affairs

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 13-14 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Z. G.: "In Party Organizations: Concern About Employee Problems"]

[text] The Provincial Committee of the party in Zielona Gora, as well as a number of [local] party echelons, have been inspecting the operations of different branches of economy during this summer. For example, together with the Provincial Office, an inspection was made of the operations of rural-area trade in the Zary region; in addition, inspections of farm service centers were carried out. Both the local administration and the management of the enterprises were put under an obligation to quickly eliminate the irregularities which had been found.

At a meeting, the department party organization of the weaving plant in the Zagan Welna Textile Mill discussed the implementation of production tasks, as well as the working conditions and the wage system. The majority of the weaving plant's workforce consists of women. It is they that particularly feel the undesirable effects of a three-shift work schedule. Consequently, the consensus of the discussion was that both the administrative and the political leadership of the plant and of the city should expedite actions which aim at eliminating nightshift employment of women. The discussants pointed out that the so-called night extra pay, particularly in light industry, was too low if one took into consideration the difficult working conditions. But even here a few changes and improvements can be made, for example, through better care of machinery and equipment, ongoing maintenance, and strict adherence to quality standards in the production of yarn. Unattractive working and wage conditions are some of the current reasons why employees, particularly young ones, are quitting their jobs at the plant. Of continuing concern to party members are such matters as insufficient utilization of production capacity, shortages of raw materials, as well as decreases in the quality of textiles which are being manufactured.

Such phenomena as profiteering and price inflation continue to be important discussion topics at party meetings, particularly in large industrial plants. At present these phenomena are particularly evident in the vegetable and fruit market. Examples of it were given at party meetings in Zary, Zagan,

and "Glasnost" form. Assertions are being made that the commercial profit motive exists in the state and in the co-operative sector, and that it is the private sector, not the large and state-owned one. In the co-operative sector there are regulations which stipulate that the profit margin cannot exceed 100 percent of the purchase price of goods, while in our country this margin sometimes amounts to 700-1000 percent or more. This is exemplified by tomatoes, which are bought from growers in Kazan Province at 30-50 zlotys a kilogram and then are sold at 90-100 zlotys a kilogram. Enterprising trade and transport people make enormous profits.

Demands that price control be tightened, and that anti-profiteering actions become more energetic, are universal and justified. This was also a topic on the agenda of a meeting of the executive body of the City and Gmina Committee (PMO) in Wlodekzin. In the article's opinion, the work of volunteer anti-profiteering commissions should be supported more vigorously through professional inspections. Volunteer workers are not always able to discover all the abuses and to make them public. But, for example, in Wlodekzin no market inspections have recently been made by the State Trade Inspectorate (PIH).

The community and life problems of inhabitants and workforces were also discussed at a meeting of managers of 11 large plants, secretaries of party organizations, and chairmen of self-government and labor organizations, with the firm secretary of the City Committee of the party in Zary. The organization and program concept of a workers' festival, the latter being planned for September, was also accepted at that meeting.

#### Crises--Main Party Problems

Article 1100: LHM 16, Folio 15 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Morawski: "Crises: Review of Ninth Party Congress"]

The word "crisis" was the most widely-used word in the second half of 1980. It was used in all its argumental forms at party meetings and in town, during work and rest periods, during lessons and lectures. It accompanied Communist LHM: "It appeared in heated and approved formulations. People would sit with one another to discuss predilections which would best define a crisis: moral, political, economic, scientific, a crisis of authority, of confidence, or structure, etc.

Crisis became the central theme of party debates which were held prior to the Ninth Extraordinary (PZP) Congress. Every participant in a debate would give a detailed presentation of his own opinion on the matter. Nearly every village presentation would begin with the "basic" party chapter--sources and nature of crisis. However, all attempts at uniform and researched presentations, as I said, failed to be deeper into causes of social contradictions and conflicts.

This became strikingly evident during the sessions of the Ninth Congress. During plenary discussions, and at meetings of committees, all the speakers were united by their will to overcome our crisis and to recover from it. This was expressed in the final version of the resolution, the latter being the principal document. Chapter I of the Resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, entitled, "The Sources and the Nature of the Crisis," contains a preliminary, highly condensed diagnosis of our crises. The last section of this chapter ought to be recalled in its entirety:

"One of the important conditions for credibility of the party and of the party's program of socialist renewal is a thorough and honest explanation of all the dramatic events in our country's postwar history, and most particularly of the grievous Poznan tragedy of 1956, and of the December 1970 troubles which occurred on our seacoast. To meet this need, the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress charges the Central Committee to appoint a commission which will elucidate all the circumstances and facts, including also personal responsibility for decisions which caused those tragedies. The commission must to begin its work at once and to make public both the facts and the resultant conclusions for our party and state, so that such tragedies may never again be repeated."

Two months later, in September 1981, the third plenum of the Central Committee appointed a commission to elucidate the circumstances, facts and causes of social conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic. The commission was headed by Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee. The commission began its work at once. It is proper to present the most important stages of this unprecedented activity in our party's history.

The commission appointed four working groups. Three of them were to examine specific periods: 1948-1956, 1968-1970, and 1976-1980. The fourth group was to prepare a draft of the final summary and conclusions.

During preliminary discussions, the consensus was that the commission, while examining the sources, course, and consequences of a crisis, and thus in essence focusing its attention on negative phenomena, must not fail to note the main currents in Poland's postwar development and the historically positive results of this development.

The consensus was that the commission would fulfill its duties with regard to the problem of personal responsibility but would not perform the duties of other bodies and institutions, such as Party Central Audit Commission, offices of public prosecutors, and courts, as well as Sejm and its organs.

The essential work of investigation was initiated with debates on methodology. The commission heard two opinions and presentations of a methodological nature; they were given by Prof Jerzy J. Wiatr and Prof Jaroslaw Ladosz. Two different methods of work were presented. To characterize very briefly the differences of opinion as expressed in both presentations, it can be said that Prof Wiatr asserted that root causes of all crises exist and ought



to be examined, while Prof Ladosz asserted that all crises are unique with regard to their causes, course, and consequences and therefore should be examined individually. In this situation, the commission adopted the only proper method: answers were sought to the question whether a universal mechanism of crises did exist, as well as to the question whether all crises were essentially unique with regard to their nature.

What were the commission's sources of information? What was examined and how?

First of all, the commission utilized the source materials of the Central Archives of PZPR Central Committee, the Records Office of Central Committee Secretariat, the Archives of Ministry of Internal Affairs and of Ministry of National Defense, and archives of provincial committees, in which there was considerable evidence of phenomena of conflicts. Also utilized were all earlier studies of this topic, e.g., the 1971 study by the so-called Sztydlak Commission. The commission also took into consideration scientific publications, as well as materials and information, which were being sent in care of the commission by various institutions and persons, particularly those who previously had held important posts in the administration's apparatus.

The commission's working groups prepared summaries of individual periods, which had been discussed by experts in individual communities before being accepted at a plenary session. Such discussions had been held in the party organization in the Passenger Car Factory [FSO] in Zeran, with the Tri-City [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot] party aktiv, with the Szczecin party aktiv, and with the party and scientific aktivs of communities in the Lodz, Silesia, and Poznan regions. They had also been discussed at special scientific meetings and conferences. An important and positive circumstance of the commission's activity was the fact that this activity took place when the party was beginning to implement the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. During the entire period we witnessed important activity in two directions: making of essential, systemic and organizational decisions with regard to governing our state and leading our society on the one hand and, on the other hand, in analytic work which explains the twists and turns of our history to date.

The commission completed its work in the spring of this year. At the twelfth plenum of the Central Committee, the commission presented the results of its work in the form of a final resolution, a document which runs to 168 typewritten pages. It consists of three chapters.

Chapter I. "Tasks and Methods of Work of the Commission." It stresses the fact that the individual groups examined crises and not conflicts. This is because social conflicts are a natural trait of developing societies, while crises are phenomena which reflect the lack of harmony in [intergroup] relations in a given society. A crisis is a result of failure to resolve conflicts promptly or to prevent the emergence of conflicts which cannot be resolved under existing social and political conditions.

Chapter II. "Social Crises of 1945-1946, 1946-1950, and 1950-1951." This chapter contains a description of events and also an expansion of the diagnosis which is found in Chapter I of the Resolution of the Ninth Congress. Here are also found observations about those areas of party and government life which have always generated crises in the past: infringements of democracy, of the socialist norms of party life, alienation of political and government apparatus from the working class, and treatment of society as an object.

Chapter III. "Conclusions." While summarizing past experiences to criticism, the commission formulates the general conditions for correct activity. [In this chapter,] the commission indicates what actions are prohibited and what we should avoid in party and government work, and in the content and organization of collective life.

At the twelfth plenum of the Central Committee, on 30 May of this year, a resolution was passed to the effect that the commission's document will be presented for the information of our entire society in a special issue of *Pravda*. An important work was completed in a short period. But the moral implications of the whole undertaking are more important than the effort of the authors of the document. We have resolved not to conceal anything--in the name of true socialist democracy and in the name of party credibility.

#### Difficult Tasks before Party Members

Lodz *OLGA POPOLNIZNA* in Polish 17 Aug 52 p 2

(TRANSLATED BY SP)

[TAM] Yesterday, the PZPR Lodz Committee held a consultation meeting of the type at the province's industrial plants. The topic was an assessment of the social and political situation as well as of the condition of the economy, with particular consideration being given to local problems.

Andrzej Jagiel, secretary of PZPR Lodz Committee [Kl PZPR], gave information on present political trends. Speaking of the responsibility which has been assumed by party members after the termination of martial law, he called attention to the need for plant cells to assume the role of an arbiter in relations between management, self-government, and labor unions. The party must continue work forces more deeply and should become a spokesman for workers' concerns, while at the same time taking society's general interests into consideration.

Party members must see to it that all administrative decisions are fully and actually justified when they are communicated to work forces in plants, and secure to contribute to meeting the needs of the workers!

With regard to needs, the Lodz Committee believed that in the summer month there has been progress toward stabilization. Conditions have been created for transition to the normal functioning of the wage system. The opposition's attempt should not be able to disturb these conditions. This fact

should not reassure party members, however. The latter must be wherever seeds of unrest are planted, and eliminate them promptly. However, we should remember that the public opinion in our society, the latter having witnessed so many policy changes and at present having to struggle with difficulties of everyday life, is not and still cannot be stable. People are assailed by various doubts, aggravated by the domestic opposition and by western diversionary broadcasting stations. This is particularly true now, on the eve of important August anniversaries...

The economic secretary of PZPR Lodz Committee, Jaroslaw Pietrzyk, spoke about the role of the party and of plant cells in stimulating more effective production activity. He stated that, after the 19 months during which the economic reform has been in operation, its basic objectives are being implemented. During this year, a continuing increase in industrial production has been noted, although the rate of increase is not as sharp as it was a year ago when, precisely in August, our industry for the first time felt a tangible increase in production. The KL secretary drew attention to alleviation of market problems as well as to the phenomenon of more effective utilization of worktime.

Unfortunately there are also many negative phenomena. The plan for production of large-demand household appliances (washing machines, refrigerators) is in a precarious situation. There are fears that we will not be able to fulfill the plan of exports, particularly of electric machinery, to capitalist countries. This, in turn, may have a negative impact on the volume of our imports, on which to a large extent are dependent both our market supply and our industry's operation.

Likewise, we did not succeed in providing all the raw materials to operational and government programs. Unfavorable phenomena have been noted in the area of investments. Approximately 3,000 so-called own investments are being implemented, with simultaneous large delays in the implementation of central investments.

The quality of production has declined. In 1982, we had in our province not even 5,000 quality-marked products. A further decline in quality has been noted during this year. Quality standards are not observed by 67 percent of plants which were inspected recently. The decline in quality affects not only domestic consumers but also the position of Polish industry in foreign markets which we are trying to regain with so much difficulty. Even more so reprehensible are, in our opinion, examples of plants whose production has been a contributory factor in returns of export goods by capitalist countries, which amounted to 8 million zlotys' worth, and by socialist countries, which amounted to 1 million zlotys' worth. Of manufacturers of shoddy goods, four plants were mentioned: Iwona Knitwear Goods Plant, Olimpia Knitwear Goods Plant, Femina Knitwear Goods Plant, and Wifama Textile Machinery Works.

The slow rate at which new plants achieve production capacity is of much concern. Out of 13 such plants in Lodz Province, in 10 plants there have been delays which have already cost 8 billion zlotys.

Speaking about the province's economization and anti-inflation programs, the Lodz Committee [KL] secretary stated that while the former is being implemented in a relatively effective manner there are many problems with the former. Plant anti-inflation programs, in general, are very inadequate. Few programs are spelled out in detail, and few have proved effective.

Thus, as we can see, our economy faces many difficult tasks. The party cannot remain on the sidelines. It must create a climate for the implementation of shortly-anticipated economic modifications which are to strengthen weak links.

During the consultation meeting, the floor was also taken by Zdzislaw Pawlowski, chairman of the board of the Lodz Association of Polish Lawyers, who discussed, and commented on, the most important points of the law on special legal regulation in the period of recovery from the crisis.

#### Party Listens Closely to Workers' Opinions

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 16 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Wojciech Jurczak]

[Text] In conformity with a principle which was accepted by the PZPR Provincial Committee in Szczecin, permanent contacts are routinely maintained by Provincial Committee secretaries, and by the aktiv of various echelons, with the work forces of industrial plants. This activity reflects the line of the PZPR Ninth Congress, and it represents an important element in the renewal of our social and political life. Meetings with workers and with people representing various professions enable the party to obtain direct information on society's opinions with regard to matters which are of primary importance to our country and to our regions and cities. Local meetings, as well as visits to plants, result in many valuable hints and proposals, as well as keen observations, all of which help in the solution of key economic and social problems.

Last Friday, a large group of staff employees of PZPR Provincial Committee in Szczecin arrived in Swinoujscie. They went to the plants and talked at length with many workers at their jobs. What did they talk about? On what problems did the talks focus? We will tell you about it in a moment.

First, a few details which characterize PZPR in Swinoujscie. Some 3098 party members and candidate members are employed in local plants. More than one-half of them (1649) consists of workers who are employed in maritime economy. In recent months, the Swinoujscie PZPR City Committee has been concerned about properly preparing the city for the vacation season. Indoctrination activity among youth has been intensified. During a single vacation season, approximately 4,000 children and young people stay in summer camps in Swinoujscie and Miedzyzdroje; hence the need to extend political education activities to that community. The long-range objective of the party organization in Swinoujscie is to implement the decisions and

resolutions of PZPR higher echelons. Basic party organizations in plants participate in the solution of many problems that are related to the implementation of the economic reform, recovery from the crisis, and prevention of inflation. These matters cannot overshadow human problems. It is easier to solve many economic and social problems when one knows what working people think. In order to be able to lead effectively and to actually perform the role of a ruling party, the party apparatus must know the opinions of those who determine the form of the party: the workers.

A reporter of KURIER accompanied the group of staff employees of PZPR Provincial Committee who visited the Maritime Repair Shipyard [in Swinoujscie].

After a short meeting in the Plant Committee, where we heard a report by the first secretary of this echelon, Jan Klosowski, we went to the production department. Not one of our conversations had been "planned." Nobody attempted to suggest conversants to us, and nobody was asked whether he or she belonged to the party.

"We have no reason to complain about our working conditions," said Andrzej Jozwiak, a welder in the repair and construction group, whom we accosted in one of the plant shops. "However, many of us have housing problems. Lack of housing is a real nightmare for our workforce. The city does not have any land that is prepared for construction. The period of waiting for a one-room apartment of one's own, estimated according to the present rate of construction in Swinoujscie, would be over 20 years. Something has to be done about it."

Our interlocutor told us about his work. He asserts that he is happy about the shipyard's having built a new metal-cutting shop. It was constructed at little or no additional cost, because a decision had been made not to commission a subcontractor to implement the investment. The shop was built by the shipyard's repair and construction group.

As we have learned, constructing the metal-cutting shop and providing adequate working conditions were among the strike demands of the work force of the Maritime Repair Shipyard [MSR] in August 1980. Metal-cutting used to be done out in the open, which resulted in very bad working conditions. The demand [of the strikers] has been complied with, and everybody is happy about it.

"We make no secret of our satisfaction with good production results which have been achieved by our shipyard," says Jan Mulketyn, also a welder in the repair and construction group. "The effort of all of us has contributed to this. We cannot depend on other people's help or justify our shortcomings by saying that we live in difficult times. If somebody wants to earn more, he or she has to do better work. If only the wage system in the shipyard fully favored honest work..."

Next to a huge drill press stand two workers. The older of them is Stanislaw Paweza, who has worked in the Maritime Repair Shipyard since it began operating in 1971; the other, and younger, is Andrzej Ogonowski.



"Andrzej, since you are a young man, can you refer to yourself as being a part of 'the lost-chance generation'?" we ask him at one point of our conversation about earnings, living conditions, etc.

While answering our question, Andrzej Ogonowski laughs openly: "Who invented this definition? What lost chance? Certainly, we have many difficult problems in Poland, but indeed we have much to look forward to. I have a good profession and a good job... I must protest: I am not a totally inexperienced young man. And what about my profession? And what about the years which I have spent working with the drill press? With this experience, do I have to feel like somebody who, having no chance in life, does not know what to do with himself? This is nonsense..."

"In our shipyard, people do not loaf at their jobs. This is also a result of the proper organization of work. Where it actually exists, we see its effects. As for the present time, our earnings are pretty good. We earn between 18,000 and 19,000 zlotys a month. Not a staggering amount, but it is enough to live on. Please notice, gentlemen, the good order in which our machinery is being kept by us. This is how it should be everywhere--there should be, above all, good order--in every job, whether on a drill press or in an office in a ministry..."

We walk from one plant shop to another, from one department to another. Everywhere our conversations deal with problems which affect the shipyard workers. It is easy to find a common language, because we all experience the same problems and difficulties of everyday life which are the main topic of conversations. Many shipyard workers have no complaints about their earnings; in their opinion, their earnings are fairly good. But they are concerned about increases in apartment rent. How high is it going to be? Who will be compensated for the increase?

From the conversations, we conclude that the workers of the Maritime Repair Shipyard approve of the Sejm's legislative activity which has intensified recently. They approve of the law concerning prevention of alcoholism and anti-alcoholism educational campaigns. "However, more severe penalties should be applied to all sorts of thieves, embezzlers, and persons who disturb the social order," are words which we fairly often hear in our conversations.

We also visited the shipyard's cafeteria. The shipyard workers have no complaints about the quality of the meals, although all kinds of irregularities do occur from time to time.

"Improvement in the quality of meals in the cafeteria was also among the demands of the strikers in 1980," we were informed by Piotr Soyka, M. Eng., the manager of the Maritime Repair Shipyard. "The meals are better but, indeed, there should be fewer irregularities in the operation of the cafeteria. The shipyard's management will make every effort to bring about further improvement. It has a duty to do so..."

We also had conversations about trade unions, whose activity is gradually growing in the Maritime Repair Shipyard, and about the activity of the self-government body, which is becoming increasingly involved in the area of the shipyard's economics; this activity, as the management assures us, considerably facilitates solution of many problems, with subsequent beneficial effects on the workers' earnings.

In the afternoon, we participated in a meeting with the aktiv of the shipyard's social organizations; we also took part in a meeting of the Executive Board of the party's Plant Committee [KZ]. These meetings were concerned with problems which had been hinted at in conversations with the shipyard's workers.

At the same time, other groups of employees of the party apparat visited a number of plants in Swinoujście as well as health service centers, recreation and rest centers, and work cooperatives.

It was not the first meeting of this kind, as far as staff employees of the party Provincial Committee [KW] in Szczecin were concerned. The previous meeting had taken place in Stargard, where it had also resulted in obtaining highly valuable opinions of the workers about the living conditions and the organization of work, and had brought to light many hitherto unresolved problems.

In addition, also last week, employees of the party Provincial Committee in Szczecin were present, during morning hours, at all the route terminals and transit centers in the city. They observed the operation of the transit system, the work of the community services, and the conditions under which the inhabitants of our city commute to their everyday work. Moreover, many opinions, hints, and comments were gathered in the streets of Szczecin and at streetcar and bus route terminals. The dialogue with society, the close attention to the voices of public opinion, is continuing. It certainly serves well the implementation of those tasks and objectives which our party has assumed.

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CSO: 2600/1230

## CONTRADICTIONS IN PRESENT STAGE OF SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 25 Jul 83 pp 23-30

[Abridged article by Univ Prof Dr Stefan Angi, Marian Grigore, director of the Cluj County Cabinet for Ideological and Political Educational Activity, Univ Prof Dr Nicolae Kailos, Dr Francisc Kiss, Iosif Konecz, chief of the propaganda section of the Cluj County RCP Committee, Univ Lect Dr Teodor Lupse, Univ Prof Dr Calina Mare, Dr Toader Moldovan, director of the Cluj-Napoca Intercounty Party School, Univ Lect Dr Gheorghe Postelnicu, Univ Lect Dr Andrei Sida and Univ Reader Dr Liviu Zapirtan: "The Nature of and the Ways To Overcome the Contradictions in the Current Stage of Development of Our Society"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu, in a speech at the expanded plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, 1-2 June 1982: "We must always bear in mind that the laws of dialectics also manifest themselves strongly in the socialist society and, probably, even in the communist society. Consequently, it is necessary for us to study, to understand, to discern in time the appearance of the contradictions and to act to eliminate them. In this regard, we must set aside everything that is old and no longer corresponds and must make room for the new, must act consciously in the direction of making changes in society."

The practical and theoretical activity directed toward uncovering, conscientizing and overcoming the social contradictions is not just one of its many concerns but a constant of its political line, resulting from the very conception of our party and its secretary general regarding socialism and the leading political role of the Communist Party, regarding the scientific management of the socialist society. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "The role of the conscious factor, of the management of the activity of the socialist state by the party, lies not in closing one's eyes and denying the existence of the contradictions but in recognizing their existence, understanding them, studying them thoroughly and finding the ways that would lead to the attenuation and elimination of them, with a clear field continually being provided for the affirmation of the new in all fields of activity. In this there is expressed, as a matter of fact, the

party's leading role in society, in the conscious construction of the new social order."

This revolutionary, profoundly scientific view of our party regarding the development of the socialist society makes evident a number of theoretical and practical problems that require the growth of the concerns for researching, discussing and clarifying the problems regarding the character, nature and causes of the contradictions, their forms of manifestation and the methods of overcoming them, as an essential condition for progress along the path of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Responding to such requirements, the magazine ERA SOCIALISTA, in collaboration with the Cluj County RCP Committee, organized the present discussion, in which the following participated: Univ Prof Dr Stefan Angi, Marian Grigore, director of the Cluj County Cabinet for Ideological and Political Educational Activity, Univ Prof Dr Nicolae Kallos, Dr Francisc Kiss, Iosif Konecz, chief of the propaganda section of the Cluj County RCP Committee, Univ Lect Dr Teodor Lupse, Univ Prof Dr Calina Mare, Dr Toader Moldovan, director of the Cluj-Napoca Intercounty Party School, Univ Lect Dr Gheorghe Postelnicu, Univ Lect Dr Andrei Sida and Univ Reader Dr Liviu Zapirtan.

We publish the abridged transcript of the remarks during the discussion.

Toader Moldovan: The revolutionary conception of our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the nature, specific character and features of the contradictions in the socialist order and regarding the methods of and mechanism for resolving them represents a brilliant model of concrete historical, scientific analysis of the values and possibilities of the new order.

On the basis of a scientific analysis of one of the basic laws of the materialist dialectic--the law of the unity and conflict of opposites--/Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu substantiates, with the capacity for depth and the discernment that characterize him, the objective nature of this law under the conditions of the different stages of affirmation of socialism on its rising path toward communism, combating the idyllic view of socialism as an earthly "paradise" without inherent difficulties and failings, without its own distortions and mistakes, "armored" against any perturbations caused by external factors/.

Socialism presents itself as a complex and dynamic reality within which different contradictions appear. Moreover, the uncovering of the contradictions permits a determined struggle against the attempts to ignore or underestimate the objective and subjective resources that are possessed by the new order and necessitates a militant, realistic, lucid, active attitude oriented toward all-inclusive transforming actions. In this context, the matter of knowing the contradictions and devising the strategy for properly resolving them is of particular theoretical and practical political interest. The complex character of



the processes and phenomena of social life makes evident the directions in which the forces must be mobilized in order to overcome obstacles and speed up progress.

For these reasons, the matter of studying and understanding the contradictions, their manner of manifestation and their effects, and devising the measures to prevent some, to diminish others, to transform them into a dynamic force for progress, constitutes one of the duties of revolutionary theoretical thought, a prime requirement of the management and decisionmaking activity in each field of activity.

From a methodological viewpoint, in studying and analyzing the contemporary social contradictions and especially the specific character of these contradictions in the socialist order, our scientific research starts from the criterion of the systemic approach, by correlating the contradictions with the specific character of the social system, with the concept of the social and economic formation, with its structural features, from which contradictions characteristic of each level, between levels and in the whole of the given system result.

Nicolae Kallos: Indeed, the matter of researching and knowing the specific character of manifestation and of resolution of the contradictions in the socialist society permits the reduction or elimination of the simplifying, superficial tendencies that have presented and still present the development of the new order as a linear, continually ascending process without difficulties or dysfunctionalities. The idealization of the development of the socialist society and the illusion that the establishment of the political power of the working class and the transition to socialist construction would solve by themselves all economic and social problems and would automatically lead to the fulfillment of the socialist principles have proved to be extremely harmful from many viewpoints. In the first place, such a view does not make it possible to discover the social contradictions but, on the contrary, tries to hide them, and the contradictions, growing worse and not being properly resolved, can lead to upheavals in social life. Then, such a view also has as a consequence the fact that when the contradictions come to light sooner or later--and the later, the more abruptly--they can create confusion and disorder among those who, being deceived with idyllic representations, are unprepared for conscious, energetic actions.

/If the period that has passed since the ninth party congress has proved to be the richest in achievements in the whole history of our country, this is due, not least of all, to the fact that a lucid, realistic view of socialism and its development has taken root, a view in which the recognition of the existence and action of contradictions in all spheres of social life, and of the necessity of properly resolving them, occupies an important place/. Our party's view of socialism is concisely expressed in the concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society. From the very essence of this concept there results, in my opinion, the necessity of constant concern for the harmonious development of the whole social system, for the resolution of all contradictions that can appear between various aspects and sides of the social whole.

Naturally, this does not mean that the multilaterally developed socialist society would be a society without contradictions; as is pointed out in our party's



documents, the law of the unity and conflict of opposites acts and will also act in the future, in all stages of development of society, as a source of continual growth. However, it is a question of, first, the necessity of constant concern for the elimination, annihilation and, especially, prevention of dysfunctional contradictions, that is, the dysfunctional aspects of contradictions, and, second, the necessity of devising the proper solutions to overcome in time the existing contradictions.

Teodor Lupse: Of course, the matters of discovering and knowing and of evaluating the solutions to resolve the contradictions of the current stage of construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society represent elements absolutely necessary but not also sufficient for overcoming the contradictions and disproportions that appear between certain aspects or sides of the mode of production, of the socialist social and economic formation. I am of the opinion that we must stress more heavily the fact that, on the basis of knowing and typologizing the contradictions, the people are in a position to solve practically and in time the contradictions specific to the new order, resorting to means and forms suited to lessening, erasing or abolishing the essential and contradictory differences between the various elements of the socialist order. In other words, it is important to know the contradictions, but, of course, only their practical resolution represents the sure way to stimulate progress, to demonstrate with facts the new order's very superiority to all others that mankind has known.

In the light of our party's conception, the resolution of the contradictions, representing the source of self-development, depends decisively on uncovering the disproportions and dysfunctionalities in economic and social life, in due time and with suitable means. /On numerous occasions, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed that, in the case in which the contradictions existing in the socialist society are not uncovered in time and are not properly resolved, their persistence can hinder development, can generate social upheavals and perturbations, going as far as conflicts and antagonisms that are hard to resolve or are costly to society/.

Obviously, such an evolution of the contradictions would appear when, out of ignorance or out of superficial knowledge, in one field or another, arbitrary decisions would be adopted, not taking into account the objective requirements of social progress. At other times, the degeneration of the nonantagonistic contradictions into antagonistic conflicts could be due to inertia, immobilism and a dogmatic attitude in the use of old and obsolete forms of organization or methods of action. Discerning the contradictions in time and acting consciously to resolve them in a timely manner, the Communist Party and the revolutionary forces are amplifying the creative activity of the masses, the more rapid advance along the path of social progress.

In this perspective, according to our party's conception, the most suitable solutions arise not from abstract theses but on the basis of applying the general truths of scientific socialism to the concrete situations.

Calina Mare: The importance that has been and is being accorded to contradiction as part of the materialist dialectic, for the explanatory power that it

has in the argumentation of the self-dynamism of existence in all its aspects, is well-known. This explanatory power has been extended and amplified through the correlations that are being established, in the contemporary stage, between the theory of contradiction and the general theory of systems.

Thus, the uncovering of the contradictory character of any real system also permits the distinguishing of the systemic character of the real dialectical contradictions. If we accept the characterization of the real dialectical contradiction as being the whole, resulting from the relationship of mutual presupposition and tension between two constitutive elements, then any real contradiction possesses the defining traits of a system: the presence of the elements, of the structure (seen dynamically, as an interaction) and of the result--integrality.

The systemicity of contradiction can be studied thoroughly by analyzing the specific ways in which the forces of attraction and of repulsion act in the three basic types of systems: ones of qualitative stability, preponderantly evolutive ones and preponderantly involutive ones.

In the case of the preponderantly evolutive systems, which possess not only mechanisms of self-preservation but also mechanisms of self-regulation and self-improvement, it is possible to distinguish both functional and dysfunctional contradictory interactions and mutual transitions from functionalities to dysfunctionalities or from lower functionalities to other, higher ones.

In the spirit of the above things, the contradictions of social life are being researched by correlating them with systems theory. /Society in the aggregate and in all stages of its development is presented as a contradictory system composed of a multitude of interactions with a convergent character (one of attraction) and a divergent character (one of repulsion), a multitude of functional and dysfunctional interactions, beginning with the basic contradictory factors that constitute the economic activity of society/.

The contradictions in the economy, with a decisive role, expressed, for instance, by the differences, tensions, oppositions and conflicts that appear between individual human needs and interests and group ones, then have repercussions--through the agency of all areas of human activity--on society as a whole. This, in its turn, exercises a systemic overdetermination on all the component subsystems--not least of all, on those constituting the economic base of society.

It is therefore natural for the contemporary Marxist discussions regarding the social contradictions and especially the contradictions of the socialist society to be concentrated on society as a system, particularly on the socialist society as a system.

Nicolae Kallos: Manifesting itself as a general law of movement and development, the law of the unity and conflict of opposites is concretized in a specific way in various fields of reality. It is possible to debate, for example, whether or not there are contradictions in nature and, if so, what exactly the their resolution means. As regards society, however, the fact that, as has

been stated, not the contradictions in themselves but the contradictions /and/ their resolution represent the source of development seems indeed unquestionable to me. The contradictions in themselves do not explain, justify and resolve anything. It would be possible here to discuss, I believe, several matters. I will refer to just a few of them.

It is customary, sometimes, to make a distinction between functional contradictions and dysfunctional contradictions, regarding the former as "good" ones, which favor development, and the latter as "bad" ones, which must be eliminated, that is, prevented. However, any contradiction can become dysfunctional in the case in which it is not discerned in advance and properly resolved. On the other hand, the resolution of dysfunctional contributions contributes significantly to social development. Only the contradictions discovered in advance and properly resolved can be considered a motive force in the development of the socialist society.

As the experience of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society shows, the resolution of contradictions is sometimes, as is known, a long-lived process (for example, the resolution of the contradiction between the village and the city) /and/ or /even/ an endless one (for example, the resolution of the contradiction between production and consumption). In these cases, the requirement of discovering in advance and properly resolving the contradictions presupposes thorough knowledge of the features of each stage of development and manifestation of them.

Precisely on the basis of thoroughly analyzing the current stage of the construction of socialism in our country and identifying the nature and specific character of the contradictions characteristic of this stage, /the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have devised and substantiated the ways and means meant to lead to the overcoming of these contradictions, to the establishment of as full an agreement as possible and to the harmonious development of Romanian society. The programs and measures adopted by the national party conference in December 1982 regarding the steady fulfillment of the 1981-1985 5-year plan and the decisions of the 12th congress are of particular importance in this regard/. These documents--as the secretary general of the party stressed--"take into account the serious international economic and political situation and the influences that are also reflected in our country and they respond fully to the current stage of development, they take into account the internal and international realities and ... power and capacity of the party and the people to secure the steady advance toward new peaks of progress and civilization."

Calina Mare: The distinction between the functional character and the dysfunctional one of the contradictions in socialism unquestionably emphasizes the necessity of affirming, of promoting the new.

Besides the finding, often encountered, that the new makes its way by opposition to what is old, obsolete, one should also note the special case of the contradictions, the tensions that can and do arise between different methods of approaching and promoting the new, as they appear in the confrontation of the forecasts and in the choice of a certain variant of action, of transformation

of the desirable possible into the real. In this framework, the confrontations of well-reasoned, well-thought-out positions, in order to find the best solution, are absolutely natural and even fruitful, therefore functional from the viewpoint of the overall social interest.

I referred earlier to the three basic types of systems and the contradictions characteristic of these types of systems. Other significant correlations between the theory of dialectical contradiction and the openings that the general theory of systems offers could also be added to the things said. Thus, the correlation between internal contradictions and external ones, with the accenting of the decisive role that internal contradictions always fulfill, is corroborated by the finding--which is made in the general theory of systems--that an outside action alters a system insofar as it destructures it in order to restructure it.

In addition, the study of the relationship between the basic contradiction and the derived ones, between the main contradictions and the secondary ones, can be extended through the correlation with systems theory, where the essential elements or systems are differentiated from the unessential ones, the main relationships or interactions from the secondary ones, through the functions that they fulfill in preserving or altering the respective system.

But, besides these correlations referring to the composition and functioning of real systems (also involving, of course, the extremely complex dynamics of the transitions from the possible to the real), the term "dialectical contradiction" is used in a broader context, such as the characterization of a multitude of categorial pairs in traditional philosophy: content-form, essence-phenomenon, individual-general, finite-infinite, necessary-random, continuous-discontinuous and so on.

The basic idea is that the relationship between these pairs of categories has the character of a dialectical contradiction, because they imply one another, do not exist without one another, but are also different, oppose one another, and this difference or position functions both in coexistence and in succession, making mutual transitions possible.

I have referred to a few aspects of the theory of contradiction, which requires, of course, specifications and developments, not only as a reply to the contemporary criticism of dialectics, focused on dialectical contradiction, but especially to point out the existence of a vast territory that awaits a more profound and more suitable theoretical elaboration.

Stefan Angi: The analysis, from a systemic perspective, of the typology of contradictions points out the universal character of contradictions, the fact that they are characteristic of nature, but also of the whole material and spiritual life of society. In this regard, I feel that the detection of the specific manner of structuring and reflection of contradictions in art--a matter, it is true, less approached here--not only can concretize but also can make a contribution to the explanation of the typology of contradictions.

The world of the aesthetic, an integral part of our reality, is also distinguished--ever since it has existed and as long as it will exist--by the unity



and conflict of its component opposites. Aesthetic objects, in general, and their appearances in the sphere of art, in particular, represent a *sine qua non* dimension of the human condition precisely because their genesis, existence and social functions are based on distinguishing the stage of manifestation of opposites, from whose existence they themselves have resulted. The wave of artistic reflection of these tensional manifestations covers, of course, a wide, historically determined range of moments of unity but also of conflict. Marx's "Capital" is an eloquent example in approaching and investigating his categories "from the center of the center of the contradictory object." His findings are valid, in general, for the physiognomy of the contradiction within any object: "The commodity-exchange process contains relationships which contradict one another and which exclude one another. The development of the commodity does not resolve these contradictions but creates the /form/ in which they can move. /This is, in general, the method by which real contradictions are resolved/ (our boldface). Thus, it is a contradiction, for instance, for one body to be continually attracted by another body and to be as continually repelled by it. The ellipse is one of the forms of movement in which this contradiction is achieved and resolved at the same time."

The structure of the artistic object follows, in my opinion, this ellipse of opposites mentioned by Marx. The many opponent binomials of the artistic structuring result from the tangible reflection by it of the all-inclusive relationship between man and his natural and social environment, formulated under the well-known object-subject relationship. The discernment--artistic or scientific--of the moment of conflict or of unity in the structure and life of the object represents not only a certain creative act but also an employed skill that must be judged from the angle of the artistic authenticity and the truth expressed.

Andrei Sida: I regard as welcome the analysis undertaken here regarding the typologies of contradictions. This is especially because, in some specialized studies, the understanding and tackling of contradictions often emerge deficiently, even erroneously. And this is due, above all, to the insufficiently correct and careful utilization of the very notion of contradiction. One finds either the confusion or identification of concrete states of insufficiency, of dysfunctionality, of shortcomings or difficulties, with contradictions, or an abstract, purely bookish approach to them, as if these contradictions were hovering somewhere in the sphere of social metastructures. One also finds the phenomenon of putting false contradictions in the sphere of the notion of contradiction and the ignoring of real contradictions. A useless waste of human and material efforts sometimes results from pursuing the discovery and resolution of false contradictions. On the other hand, the investing of social processes and phenomena with the capacity or attribute of "contradictions" can artificially inspire and induce a defeatist frame of mind. It is thus important to use the category or concept of contradiction at their correct dimension and value, this having, alike, theoretical educational and practical implications in social life.

Teodor Lupse: In the documents of the national conference in 1982 and of the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June of last year there is undertaken an extensive and deep analysis of the contradictions between some



aspects of the production forces and relations, between some economic sectors, such as the disproportions between the processing industry and the base of energy or raw materials, between industry and agriculture, between the installed capacity of the fixed assets and the level of utilization of them, between the consumption requirements and the current level of the production of consumer goods and of the possibilities of satisfying these requirements, between the social existence and the socialist consciousness of the people, and so on. At the same time, these documents define a series of special programs meant to provide for resolving immediately or in a relatively short time and with proper means the contradictions that are impeding or reducing the rate of construction of the new society.

In my opinion, the conflict between the new and the old and the promotion of a new quality in work and in life constitute the main contradiction of the current stage of development, with Romania's progress, its passage into the ranks of the countries with an average level of economic development, depending decisively on its resolution.

In socialism, a continual process of improvement in the production forces and the economic and social relations, of endless development of society in all its areas, takes place. This aspect explains the very way in which, in the socialist society, the conflict between the new tendencies and the old ones does not disappear but covers a wide field of action, acquiring the traits specific to the essence of the new order.

The Romanian Communist Party has made a remarkable contribution to defining the content of the conflict between the new and the old in the current stage and the role of the subjective factor in promoting the new. It is obvious that the conflict between the new and the old is manifesting itself in all spheres and fields of our social life. The new is always arising, as an expression of the revolutionary character of the socialist order. The conflict between the new and the old is occurring in a specific way in each social subsystem, constituting the main force for historical social progress.

Nicolae Kallos: Certainly, the conflict between the new and the old is also occurring under the conditions of the socialist society, representing, above all, the manifestation of the contradictions in different fields of social life and activity. I would allow myself just two remarks in connection with this matter.

The first one, more abstract in appearance, but, in reality, with profound practical implications, refers to the fact that any social law, therefore, too, the action in society of the law of the unity and conflict of opposites, manifests itself /in/ and /through/ the conscious activity of the people. I want to say that the conflict between the old and the new is lawlike, necessary, but in society the necessity is of a special type, of an "if...then" type; in society, /if/ there are the capable and mature forces to affirm it, /then/ the necessity makes its way. As regards the conflict between the old and the new, everything depends on whether or not there are social forces engaged in promoting the new, whether these forces are numerous enough from a quantitative viewpoint and strong enough from a qualitative viewpoint (that is, from the

viewpoint of their degree of consciousness and their power to act). Unfortunately, history furnishes us with no few examples when, in different countries, due to quantitative and (or) qualitative deficiencies of the forces that represented the new, the old emerged victorious. It could be objected that in these cases we are dealing with temporary phenomena and that, since it is a question of a law, the new necessarily triumphs in the last analysis. What I want to stress, however, is precisely the fact that we cannot conceive of the social laws and their action as an abstract mechanism, severed from certain concrete historical realities.

The second remark that I would make is, I am well aware, a commonplace, but I feel that it must be mentioned whenever we discuss the conflict between the new and the old. I have in mind the fact that these concepts of "old" and "new" are not connected exclusively with the temporal development of phenomena and events but have a preponderantly value content. I want to say that not everything that is old in a temporal sense must be discarded, just as not everything "new" must be embraced and encouraged. What exactly is old and what exactly is new must always be judged from the angle of our basic philosophical, sociopolitical and moral choices, knowing that development contains moments both of continuity and of discontinuity and that the law of the transition to a new quality contains--as a basic theoretical and methodological concept--the concept of measurement.

Andrei Sida: Understood as reflecting the internal unity of opposite aspects--the conflict between the new and the old, between the inferior and the superior--the contradictions are manifesting themselves in the basic processes of the current stage, processes that have a degree of really social generality. In my opinion, it should also be stressed, at the same time, that the specific character of the manifestation of the contradictions in our social life--implicitly, the contradiction between the production forces and the production and social relations--lies in the idea that they are occurring against the background of the agreement (in essence, achieved) between the production relations of a socialist type and the social character of the production forces. This agreement has been provided for good through the irreversibility of the nonantagonistic nature of this relationship at the general level of the two aspects of our social and economic formation, against the background of the class structure and of the class interests that are, in essence, unitary and harmonized but still, in some regards, different. Of course, the prolongation or improper resolution of the contradictions can generate relations or situations with a conflictual, antagonistic nature.

Referring to the manner of manifestation of the concrete content of the contradictions of the current stage, it is also worth bearing in mind, in my opinion, the observation according to which the discordances or the imbalance--which shapes only from a point of it the manifestation of the contradiction--does not act linearly, univocally, just in a single direction--for example, not only from the production forces toward the social relations or not only from material existence toward social consciousness, but also vice versa. As a result, the development of the production forces cannot be understood as inexorable, just as the lagging of the relations or consciousness behind existence is not inevitable. There are many examples that attest that the improvements in the

sphere of production relations have caused or stimulated the development of the production forces, of the material base of society, that aspects or components of social consciousness have surpassed the given existence, acting as true material forces for social development in general. Therefore, when we speak of the current contradictions between the production forces and the production and social relations, between existence and consciousness, I feel that it is also necessary to stress the reality that it is a question of elements or components of them and not their entirety. This is also the meaning of the ideas in the documents of the national party conference in 1982, which refer expressly to the existence and manifestation of "a certain contradiction between the strong development of the production forces and the development of the social and production relations," to "a certain contradiction between the development of the production forces, of the material base of society, and the level of socialist consciousness, of professional, technical training of the masses."

Gheorghe Postelnicu: Extending the above observations also to other fields and sectors of activity, I would formulate the following question: Must an intersectorial or interbranch gap really be interpreted as a disproportion and, in consequence, as a contradiction? I feel not. It is known that a certain gap between the rates of growth of branches and sectors is, under certain circumstances, even necessary. For instance, some gaps, within certain limits, between the sector producing means of production and the one producing consumer goods, between the growth of labor productivity and the growth of net nominal pay and between the processing industry and the extractive industry must not absolutely be interpreted as a disproportion, as a contradiction. The contradiction expresses, in its essence, an economic disproportion, and this we must interpret, in my opinion, as a waste of social labor.

But at what point does the economic disproportion appear? This is, I believe, already elucidated. It begins when the optimum point of the correlation between branches, sectors and so on is passed. Under the conditions in which the economic proportions have a pronounced dynamic character, often being influenced by many technical, economic, sociopolitical and other factors, the optimum point of which I spoke can easily be passed. Usually, the passage from one optimum to another, transposed onto a higher plane, would be normal. Any delay, any postponement in this regard can entail the expansion of economic disproportions arising along the way and, in consequence, the worsening of the contradictions. This is why the activity of optimizing the proportions, of finding the economic and social optimum, fits into the process of ironing out and, in the long run, of overcoming contradictions.

Francisc Kiss: When we examine the problems of the contradictions in the economic field, it is important, in my opinion, for us to distinguish, above all, that specific character by which the economic field differs from the other fields. As is known, in any social and economic order, the most important and general correlation in the economic field is established between production, sources and needs, with the final, ultimate goal of production being to satisfy the needs.

In addition, the economic laws also revolve around this correlation. For example, in each order, the basic economic law involves the direct goal of



production, and the attainment of this goal is an objective condition for achieving the connection between the component elements of the above-mentioned correlation. Or, in each order there operate objective economic laws that take into account the method of economic movement or the social and economic form of the connections between the subsystems: production, sources and needs.

Consequently, economic life means the traversing of the above-mentioned correlation. It hence follows, I believe, that an examination of the contradictions in the economic field must start from an analysis of the production-sources-needs correlation.

Another methodological requirement that I would like to point out is connected with the fact that the production-sources-needs relationship does not exist in general but in relation to the level of development of the technical-material base and to the production relations, takes concrete forms, acquires specific traits and requires different methods of achievement. Therefore, the contradictions, too, must be viewed in a concrete historical manner and not in a general manner, regardless of the level of development of the production forces and the type of ownership relations.

Gheorghe Postelnicu: Stating unequivocally the fact that in socialism, too, there are contradictions, our party has pointed out, at the same time, their objective character. Why do I stress this idea? Because, in approaching this problem, some researchers are still inclined to believe that certain contradictions would be the direct result of decisions not sufficiently substantiated from a theoretical and practical viewpoint. Such a way of interpreting things seems to me to be erroneous.

Naturally, the management activity reflected in decisions has an influence on the unfolding of the contradictions, if we can put it so, but it is not the prime generator of contradictions. In the sequence of the components of the management process, the decision follows, as is known, the diagnosis and, if possible, the prognosis. Being by its nature a dynamic, rational process, the decision, say, of an economic nature, must be the consequence of suitable information on the basis of which a line of action can be chosen from a certain number of possibilities. From this viewpoint, the decision can be viewed as a form of social approval of an action. The question is the following: Is it indeed possible to speak of a correct decision in the absence of knowledge of the economic laws? Of course, it is not possible. However, it is known that any connection with a character of a law is a relationship between different aspects, by their nature opposites. As a form of general, necessary, essential, causal and other connection, the economic law itself is a form of expression and of movement of opposites and thus, too, of a potential contradiction. The examples are numerous. It is enough for us to mention the law of the agreement of the relations with the character and level of the production forces, the law of accumulation (the relationship between the consumption fund and the accumulation fund is contradictory by its very essence), the law of distribution according to labor (the distribution of the bulk of goods and services for individual consumption in relation to the actual contribution of each member of society to the creation of national income has deep repercussions, determining, in the long run, the production-consumption correlation itself),

Finally, the law of the growth of labor productivity, which influences and determines a whole series of contradictions, as well as that between value and price, between value and use value, between individual worktime and socially necessary worktime, and so on.

Consequently, when we tackle the contradictions, we cannot do it, in my opinion, by seeking them, above all, on the ground of the subjective, of subjectivism, but by starting from the objective, more precisely, from the objective law as an essence of processes and phenomena, in the final analysis, of well-defined production relations. The study of the economic law, for instance, cannot stop at research on causality, necessity, essentiality, repeatability and so on, but must continue as far as the uncovering of the concrete contradictions in which the respective connections are achieved. At bottom, all relationships and connections occur within the framework of the general law of the unity and conflict of opposites. I believe that Karl Marx had precisely this thing in mind when he stated that economic policy can become a positive science only through the study of the conflict between facts and of the contradictions that constitute their hidden substratum.

Stressing the objective character of contradictions, especially the economic ones, this does not mean that they absolutely must also have negative consequences. This would mean their fetishization. The economic laws, too, have an objective character (thereby not differing at all from the laws of nature), but they can be known and used consciously. Contradictions are not and will never be able to be eliminated totally. The resolution of one contradiction or another does not offer us any guarantee that it will not reappear in another stage of development and in another form of manifestation. Consequently, the activity in this field has and will have a permanent character.

Francisc Kiss: I share the viewpoint expressed here that in analyzing the contradiction between the production forces and the production relations we must take into account the contradictions between certain elements or components of them. In this regard, I would like to refer to the relationship between the development of the production forces and the necessity of improving the ownership relations, which represent the basic, essential aspect of the production relations.

As is known, the ownership relations manifest themselves through the system of interests, it being composed of three big groups: general social interests of the whole society; group (collective) interests; and personal interests. At present, there is posed the problem of connecting the personal interest with the general interest to a greater extent, in such a way that through the fulfillment and satisfaction of the personal interest the fulfillment of the general interest also occurs. It is necessary for us to stress the fact that the general interest is the most important link in the system of interests, since it involves extremely important processes, such as the continuation of the country's industrialization on the basis of advanced technology, the providing of energy independence, the transition to intensive reproduction to a greater and greater extent, the providing of a high rate of accumulation and so on.

The problem is also posed likewise in the case of the relationship between the personal interest and the group interest. At the expanded plenum of the RCP



Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that "the working people in an enterprise must understand the fact that they are the owners of that enterprise, that they bear directly the responsibility for preserving and protecting the property, for developing it, that their duty is to obtain, with the means that they possess, continual growth in economic efficiency, securing in this way both the means needed for paying them and for profit sharing and the means needed for accumulation, for developing the production forces, as well as the meeting of general needs of the state, for the protection of the country."

In the spirit of the contents of the party documents, a number of steps have already been taken. For example, /possibilities have been created for the participation of the working people, with shares, in the development of the production funds of the enterprises, and the recent plenum of the RCP Central Committee adopted the program regarding the firm application of the principles of self-administration and worker self-management and the improvement of the system of payment for labor in relation to the current needs and tasks/.

Toder Moldovan: Referring to the fact that certain contradictions are manifesting themselves between the elements or components of the production forces and relations, I want to dwell on aspects that involve the contradictions within the microeconomic level, contradictions that directly concern the mechanism of the activity of the socialist enterprise.

One of the forms in which the influence of these contradictions is making itself felt refers to the contradiction between the material factor and the human factor of the production forces. The contradiction between the means of production and the work force occupies the central place within this category of contradictions.

As is well known, the elements that form the technical-material base actually become means of production only insofar as they are put into operation through the active and conscious intervention of the live labor, of the work force. In its turn, the work force--as the human factor of the production forces--can produce the things necessary to society only if it possesses the means of production and utilizes them effectively. The unity between the material factor and the human factor of the production forces lies in this mutual interconditioning and functional continuity. However, this unity cannot be absolutized in any way as linear or invulnerable, since life confirms with incontestable facts that certain discordances and discontinuities also exist between the work force and the component elements of the technical-material base.

For instance, the fact is known that our society is making constant efforts in the direction of modernizing and developing the fixed assets of the socialist enterprises, whose value at the end of 1982 represented over 2 trillion lei, registering a 9.7-fold rise in comparison with 1950. Unfortunately, these assets are not used and administered with maximum efficiency everywhere. We still encounter situations in which the machines and installations are not put into operation at the stipulated time, delays arise in the attainment of the projected technical and economic parameters, the production capacities are utilized incompletely, maintenance of unsuitable quality is provided, and there

are interruptions in the operating process, an irregular technical-material supply, manpower fluctuations and other shortcomings that refer to the organization of production and labor. From such situations it follows strikingly that the human factor does not always act in accordance with the requirements imposed by the material factor of the production forces. Cases are also encountered when workers and specialists of high professional skill are utilized in work below the level of their professional training and experience, which denotes a waste of live labor.

A careful examination of these states of affairs from the angle of the contradictions between the means of production and the work force directs our attention to reasons of an objective and subjective nature for these contradictions, such as: the general tendency of technology to outstrip the process of forming the skilled work force; the activity of forming the new professions does not always keep pace with the rate of appearance of new branches and subbranches; the necessity imposed by the needs of the economy, by the changes made in its structures, which require the shifting of part of the work force from one subbranch to another (the present case of the mining and petroleum industries, which need manpower); the deficiencies existing in determining the size of the work force needed, in establishing its qualitative structure and growth; and the incomplete use of the supply of time.

Knowing such realities, which can cause the manifestation of contradictions, the measures initiated by means of the party decisions and socialist legislation have in mind precisely the lessening and elimination of the effects of these negative states of affairs. Consequently, /in the economic policy of our party and state a central place is occupied by the concern for the preparation of long-term forecasts regarding the main directions of scientific and technical progress in close connection with its requirements and exigencies, for the more and more organic integration of education with production and scientific research in order to form the professional and scientific horizon necessary to the staffs of workers and specialists, for the generalization and perpetuation of the system of professional improvement of the staffs and all worker personnel on the basis of programs that take into account the innovations appearing in science and technology and the requirements that are imposed in each field of activity, for the growth of the role of economic contracts in the planning and organization of production, the providing of contracts for the whole output before the start of the plan year and so on/.

The improvement in the system of indicators in the planning activity through the application of the new economic and financial mechanism, and especially the introduction of the "physical output" indicator, based on the firmness of the social demand defined by the plan, and the "commodity output sold and paid for" indicator, is creating the conditions for eliminating to a considerable extent one of the causes that generated the contradiction between value and use value when some enterprises produced values that did not have a social utility and purpose, in the sense that they did not respond to the requirements and exigencies of productive or social consumption.

Francisc Kiss: The analysis of the relationship between the collective interests and the general ones is of particular theoretical and practical importance

for resolving the economic contradictions. In this field it is very important for the collective interest to not be put above the general interest under any circumstances. Nonetheless, situations appear when, to a certain extent, the general interest is affected or ignored by the group interest. For instance, on the occasion of fulfilling the plan targets set, the enterprises, in some cases, select and use certain ways and methods that do not also take the general interest into account to a sufficient degree. This fact can easily be seen if we analyze, as has been mentioned here, the economic indicators used to set the plan targets. In the past, as is known, the gross output was in the center of the system of indicators, and many enterprises, in order to more easily fulfill the gross-output plan, used costly raw materials and supplies or made between them useless exchanges of semiproducts or increased beyond normal the reserves in the area of unfinished products and so on. In all these situations, the general interest was ignored, since the respective enterprises did not act in the spirit of the rational utilization of raw materials.

At present, the net output constitutes one of the central indicators used to set the plan targets and according to which the activity of the enterprises is judged. But even this value indicator, despite the advantages that it offers, can create some shortcomings through its improper use, as can happen in the case of any value indicator. For instance, this indicator includes only the newly created value, and some enterprises, in their endeavor to increase as much as possible the net output, that is, their own output, give up cooperation with other enterprises, which is not efficient from a viewpoint of the general interest in all cases. In addition, the tendency to produce as big a number of subassemblies as possible, component elements of the products within the enterprises making finished products, does not also mean, in all situations, growth in social labor productivity, savings of supplies and technical progress. But these practices lead, instead, to the satisfaction of collective interests, to the easier fulfillment of the net-output plan of the respective enterprises.

For precisely this reason, /the continual concern of our party and state for improving the whole system of interests, for providing harmonious correlations between the component elements of this system and so on, represents, as life shows, one of the important aspects of the improvement in the production relations, as a necessary condition for securing the rapid development of the production forces/.

Marian Grigore: In view of the complexity of the relationships that are established within the socialist society between its different systems and subsystems, the problem of contradictions acquires specific aspects for the field of political life, of the organization and management of society, of the intervention of the subjective, conscious factor, in the direction of properly knowing the realities, of preventing and overcoming the contradictions.

In socialism too, the political is, on the one hand, an expression of the social and economic structures, of the relationships between the classes and strata of society, and, on the other hand, a system with specific functions of organization and management of the whole society, on the basis of the common basic interest of all working people in forging the new socialist order. These two characteristic aspects of the political put their imprint on the



understanding of the contradictions in social and political life, since the political no longer expresses positions of domination between antagonistic classes but continues to be "political," that is, an assembly of structures, relationships and ideas connected with promoting the interests of the working class, of all working people. At the level of the political there thus occurs the matter of knowing alike the contradictions in all other spheres of social life and those in its own field, there taking place on this basis the action of preparing the decisions meant to secure the optimum functioning of society.

Undoubtedly, the political takes into account, above all, the contradictions in the social and economic sphere, primarily nonantagonistic ones but ones that can have a dysfunctional role in society, such as, for example, those that appear between the members of society as participants in the social division of labor, between the social classes and strata with their specific ways of life, between the village and the city, between the individual and the group, between physical labor and intellectual labor. They are contradictions which exclude the appearance of opposed interests but which pose the problem of the adoption of decisions called upon to eliminate the dysfunctionalities, to fit into the sense of the basic choices for the makeup of the communist society. In this direction go the measures initiated by the party to accentuate the homogenization of the social structure, to achieve closeness among the members of society under the sign of their complex status of owners, producers, beneficiaries and leaders, especially in social and economic life.

Miviu Zapirtan: Of course, between the contents of the social and economic activity and those of the political activity, some differences, some lack of synchronization resulting from ignoring the specificity of each of these fields, can appear. For instance, the fact is obvious that the economic problems are governed by economic laws and thus require economic solutions, but through an unsuitable intervention of the political, such solutions can be absolutized, applied mechanically, regardless of the conditions and requirements specific to each stage of development.

The special concern of our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for securing the harmonious development of the national economy in which industry, agriculture and the other branches would be combined in an optimum structure is significant in this regard; in the current stage, the balanced development of industry and agriculture represents the decisive factor in successfully forging the multilaterally developed socialist society. This is especially because, as social practice shows, the neglecting or absolutization of one or the other of these two basic branches can generate some disproportions and contradictions in the unitary system of the national economy with repercussions also on other fields. Consequently, the measures adopted by the recent plenum of the RCP Central Committee for providing a rational balance and harmonious development of industry and agriculture strike me as being of exceptional importance. /The National Program for Providing Reliable and Stable Outputs by Raising the Production Potential of the Land and Better Organizing and Using in a Unitary Manner the Agricultural Territory, the Entire Area of the Country/, approved by the plenum, provides for the allocation of about 100 billion lei for work in the field of agriculture, without precedent in our country, whose achievement not only will provide the conditions needed for

modern, high-yield agriculture but also will have profound implications for the organization of the country's territory and for the growth of the material and spiritual standard of living of the whole populace.

It thus seems obvious that the political factor pursues the explanation of the evolution of a contradiction, in one field or another, in close correlation with its implications for the other fields of society, in a broad, multilateral view. Our party's concern for the firm promotion of socialist democracy in all fields of economic and social life offers an eloquent example in this regard.

Marian Grigore: The problem of socialist democracy indeed offers a very illustrative example of the necessity of convergent actions to overcome contradictions between certain aspects or fields of the life of our society. Moreover, as is known, the elaboration and implementation of the new economic and financial mechanism were determined precisely by the necessity of overcoming the contradiction, which had appeared at one time, between the new forms of our revolutionary, working-class democracy and the organizational framework of the economic and social activity, which had become too narrow. Pointing out the special role of revolutionary, working-class democracy in the life of our society, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the requirement of eliminating any deficiencies in the functioning of the bodies of socialist democracy, securing the application of the principle of collective labor and leadership, since "we do not regard democracy just as something for the press or newspapers; we feel that working-class democracy, collective leadership, the strengthening of the role of the general assemblies of the producers, of the owners, are decisive factors for the victory of socialism, for the continual development of our homeland."

/The continual expansion and deepening of socialist democracy, of the participation of the masses in working out and solving all problems that concern the development of our society, the deepening of the dialogue of the masses of people with the party and state leadership, the thorough discussion of all future choices constitute one of the most important ways in which, on the basis of the working people's experience, of their revolutionary spirit, it is possible to overcome with a critical sense the shortcomings, contradictions and mistakes, to distinguish new solutions to stimulate economic, social, cultural and political development/.

Consequently, the socialist democracy that our order develops helps to achieve the unity of the sectors of social life, the close connection between the economic, social, political and spiritual, confers on the political factor the central place in distinguishing and resolving the contradictions, which, known and used consciously, turn into factors in the general progress of the socialist society.

Andrei Sida: If we view the problems of democracy as one of the concrete forms of the contradictions in the sphere of the political, there stands out distinctly the importance that is attached to the requirement of fully harmonizing the widely institutionalized framework of the system of our working-class democracy with the content and efficiency of the effective participation of the masses in the management and self-management of the economic and social



processes. It is a reality that, in the current stage, the problem that is posed with priority in this field is not of a qualitative nature, one of the framework--that is, /how many/ forms and methods there are or could be for the development of democracy in our social life--but, especially, of a qualitative nature, more precisely, /how/ the mechanisms of our democratic system, in its entirety, as well as in its components, operate. Of course, for the future, too, the problem of the framework constitutes an objective of the improvements, but, at present, the accent is being put on efficiency, competence, responsibility and initiative, that is, on as real and effective an organic involvement as possible of those who work in the functionality of our system of social organization and management. In this regard, it is also significant that, in the report to the national party conference, the further improvement of the social relations, of the forms of management and planning, and the resolution--in the broad political sense--of the existing contradictions are conceived /in/ and /through/ the growth of the role of the masses of people in managing all sectors of activity.

In other words, our working-class democracy is required as a general political means and way to act, through its essential trait--the participation of the masses in the management of social life--in the direction of resolving the contradictions, to uncover practical, efficient solutions and methods of thought and action. Our working-class democracy really possesses such internal resources, such a potential generator of innovation and creativity through which certain contradictions can be largely overcome. At the same time, it is known that the participation's level of efficiency is conditioned to the highest degree by the quality of the scientific, technical, ideological, political and cultural training of the people, by the level of social and individual consciousness. However, as there still are some shortcomings in this area, the educational activity must be intensified in order to fully harmonize all components of our social, political and economic system.

Nicolae Kallos: From the very outset, the fact has been presented here that the problem of the contradictions in socialism is not just one of the many social, political and theoretical problems that concern the party but one that involves the party's leading political role itself in our society and the state. The fulfillment of this role depends largely on the party's knowledge and skill in discovering the social contradictions in advance, in devising the proper method of resolving them, in involving, organizing and mobilizing the masses in the whole process mentioned above and in all its phases. I feel that in the problems that we are discussing, as in many other problems, it is also necessary to take into account all the conclusions that result from Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's thesis of major importance according to which the party leads not /in the name/ of the working class, of those who work, but /together/ with it. That presentation of things in which the discovery of the contradictions and the devising of the methods to resolve them are exclusive prerogatives of the political factor, with only the practical application of readymade models and procedures being reserved for the masses, does not seem at all correct to me. The necessity that all those who work be involved as actively as possible in both discovering and resolving the contradictions follows from the very principle of the universality of contradictions.

Moreover, it is no accident that, in our party's programmatic documents, the problem of contradictions is approached in the context of the party's leading political role and in that of the expansion, the development of revolutionary, working-class democracy. Of course, the discovery and resolution of the social contradictions by the party and the masses /together/ would be impossible without a democratic climate of complete mutual trust. This constitutes a sine qua non condition for discovering the contradictions in advance and resolving them in time.

Our revolutionary, working-class democracy provides for participation in making the decisions, in choosing the optimum variant from the possible variants for resolving the contradictions. Revolutionary, working-class democracy means, then, mature and responsible action, effective participation in resolving the contradictions in practice. Due not only to these few aspects but also to others not mentioned here, the correlation of the problem of social contradictions with that of revolutionary, working-class democracy seems natural and wholly justified to me.

Liviu Zapirtan: The impact of politics with the spirituality of a collectivity occasions important correlations, since in this field the contradictions are filled with "subjectivity," express the degree of understanding or misunderstanding of the existing structures, the degree of their proper or false reflection in the people's consciousness. /In the party documents it has been stressed repeatedly that the thesis according to which the lagging of consciousness behind social existence is not inevitable [as published], that it must orient our efforts toward developing the socialist consciousness of the masses, toward promoting the critical and self-critical spirit, the desire to affirm the new/.

The political factor has a big responsibility in the promotion of the ideological bases of the socialist consciousness, of dialectical and historical materialism, of scientific socialism, of the "critical and revolutionary" (as Marx called it) dialectical method, capable of flexibly reflecting the contradictions of reality. In the relationships between the objective and the subjective, themselves contradictory, the role of the conscious factor resides in rigorously establishing the nature and specific character of the nonantagonistic contradictions, the ways to resolve or prevent them, since, if this role is not properly exercised, the contradictions can become antagonistic, can disturb the mechanisms of the socialist society, the normal functioning of the relationships between the social, economic, political and ideological structures.

Marian Grigore: The contradictions between the development of the production forces, as the nucleus of the infrastructure of society, and the level of socialist consciousness, thus of aspects of the superstructure, are "carried," in fact, by the social structures, by the members of society. The bond between these terms is established by the political factor, which assumes the role of putting the socialist principles and ideals into practice in all fields of society. As a result, it examines scientifically the prospects of the development of society, the relationships between the production forces, the social relations, in general, and the people's consciousness. Making these specifications, I nonetheless feel that not all contradictions between these terms have

an explanation based only on the objective factors. Some of them are also due to the errors of the subjective factors in one field or another.

In this context, I feel that the social sciences can and must make a bigger contribution to knowing the real physiognomy of the social classes, the relationships between them, to explaining the persistence of reactionary, mystical, obscurantist conceptions.

Among the contradictions caused by the shortcomings in the activity of subjective factors there are also those between the professional and the moral and civic training, between the social consciousness and the individual consciousness of some of the members of society. Even if these contradictions do not have the capacity to decisively influence the spiritual life of our society, I feel that they must always be taken into account, with a view to preventing them, knowing them and finding the most suitable methods of overcoming them.

Iosif Konecz: As in all spheres of economic and social life, in fact, contradictions do indeed manifest themselves also on the plane of the socialist social consciousness. In my opinion, these contradictions manifest themselves through backward mentalities, conceptions and attitudes regarding work and life, acts of egoism, of putting personal interests above and, sometimes, against the general interests of society. Of course, such manifestations, and others, such as the tendencies of loafing, to get as much as possible from society and to offer as little as possible in return, the lack of concern for public property, the violation of the norms of social cohabitation, the mystical and religious conceptions and so on, conflict with the principles of our socialist society.

The causes of these contradictory manifestations in some people, in opposition to the progress of our socialist society, can also be a reflection of contradictions in social life, but they must be sought, first and foremost, in the shortcomings that still persist in the political, ideological and educational work, in the shortcomings of the organizations and institutions with educational tasks of forming and developing the socialist consciousness of the new man. Some phenomena of formalism, the performance of an ideological, political and educational activity severed from the real problems of economic, social and spiritual life, the insufficient militancy and firmness toward the conceptions and shortcomings in the behavior of people, the insufficient concern for promoting the new, the revolutionary spirit, for firmly applying in life the principles and norms of socialist ethics and equity--all these things help to maintain contradictions in the field of the socialist consciousness.

Stefan Angi: The contradictions on the plane of spiritual life also have an all-inclusive character, manifesting themselves, obviously, although in specific forms, on the plane of art and culture as well.

Man has always confronted the experienced reality with his highest aspirations, there thus arising the configuration of the opposites between the /real/ and the /ideal/. Two elements so dynamic that they will stand as defining poles at the basis of the generation of any aesthetic and artistic field in all stages of history. The beautiful and the ugly, the sublime--the heroic and the



villainous, the tragic and the comic--these are a few dialectical aspects of the structuring of the real with the ideal, which are reflected, in a complex way, in each artistic achievement and work. So, for instance, our socialist art has as a prime desire to reflect the people's heroic struggle to build the new society, fully conscientizing the sublime value of the work of construction, of overcoming the difficulties, the magnificence of being a communist. And, of course, the contradictions of life, the complex and contradictory process, with its shadows and lights, of forging a new social order, are reflected in this creative act of art.

In the artistic sphere, the unity and conflict of opposites in the dialectic of the real with the ideal also manifest themselves in the aesthetically particularized oppositions of the rational and the emotional. It is a question of the complexity of the human perseverance for the fulfillment of his aspirations. One and perhaps the most noble form of manifestation of this complexity is reflected in the interferences of the ethical and the aesthetic within the ethos-affectus relationship that our socialist art contains in order to bring man nearer to the norms and principles characteristic of the mode of human cohabitation in the new, socialist order.

Of course, the enumeration of the moments of the conflict and unity of opposites in art could go on and on. Let us consider only the dialectical relationships of socioaesthetic parameters also valid in the case of our art, such as: tradition /and/ innovation, the unity of ideas /and/ the stylistic diversity (and that of taste), the national /and/ universal character. As in other cases, here, too, the mission of artistic practice is to keep an eye on the equilibrium of these opposites in the struggle for continual innovation, for the consistent promotion of the new, for the aesthetic creation of the socialist ideal. All these things are foremost desires, with the neglecting of them leading inevitably to the "division of the whole," to the absolutization of one or another of the aspects of these oppositions.

Art is thus, by its inner construction itself, a true way of "diagnosing" the stage of conflict and of unity of the opposites of social life. It could not even have another mode of existence, since it is the true reflection of reality. The artist's social mission consists of aesthetically molding the obvious message, in such a way that the perception of the artistic creation's structure by those who work contributes to the conscientization of the stage of unity and of conflict of the opposites in life, suggesting, on an affective plane, too, the necessity of their creative intervention in securing the continual advance of socialist construction.

Teodor Lupse: The formation of the new man, with an advanced attitude toward work and life, represents /an important factor for intensifying the role of the conscious factor in social life, in the affirmation of the revolutionary consciousness, as an active, stimulating factor in the socialist social existence. The extensive political and educational activity performed by the party thus responds precisely to this necessity of securing the continual growth of the role of the unitary revolutionary social consciousness of the working people in forging the new order, growth without which the splendid historical creation of the masses could not be imagined/.

In this direction, highly important tasks stand before the party bodies and organizations, the mass and public organizations, before the schools and cultural institutions, the press, radio and television, with regard to increasing their contribution to the action of forming the man of a new type, his multilateral personality. Their activity, based on the broad program of socialist education of the masses, adopted by our party, is meant precisely to eliminate the lags in the people's mode of thought and behavior in relation to the conditions of their existence, to make consciousness even more of a stimulating factor in all social life, an essential factor in the progress of our society, in the affirmation of man's creative and transforming power.

At the same time, the intensification of the political, ideological and educational work pursues the elimination of perturbational phenomena, such as the backward attitude toward work and public property, the manifestations of social parasitism, the thefts of public property and so on. The cultivation of the spirit of labor, the patriotic education of all working people, especially the younger generation, and the formation of the revolutionary, working-class socialist consciousness presuppose, with the same force, the combating of any manifestations of the reactionary conceptions, of the mystical and religious remnants and of the influence of the contemporary bourgeois ideology, of any tendencies of cosmopolitanism, nationalism and chauvinism. Consequently, one of the main directions of the educational work consists of firmly promoting in life the norms and principles of communist work and life, of socialist ethics and equity, of strongly affirming the revolutionary, working-class spirit in work and life.

Iosif Konez: As a result of the discussions conducted here regarding the nature and causes of the contradictions in spiritual life, it can be judged that the overcoming of these contradictions is attainable through an extensive activity to improve economic and social life, but also through the raising of the level of revolutionary consciousness of the masses. At the same time, it follows that the political and educational work must be viewed in all its complexity, oriented toward all aspects of spiritual life. Overcoming some contradictions in spiritual life means thinking of the political and educational work from the high perspective of the socialist society's ideals and principles, of the unity of the axiological system on which the process of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society is based.

/The current directions of action for raising the socialist consciousness of the working people are clearly formulated in the programmatic documents adopted by the 12th congress and the national conference of the party and in the speech at the plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982, which offer a vast program of activity to the whole populace, to all those who work in the ideological, political and educational field/.

Starting from these highly important and complex requirements, the Cluj County RCP Committee is devoting full attention to thoroughly studying and mastering the ideas and theses contained in the exceptionally valuable theoretical and practical work of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, so that the entire political and ideological activity may be permeated with a strong militant, revolutionary character, may help to increase the spirit of responsibility of the communists,



of all working people, in the fulfillment of the tasks that devolve upon them, in the exercise of civil rights and duties.

I feel that our discussion is a welcome one for the activity that we perform, since, as has been stated here, the analysis of the nature of and the ways to overcome the contradictions, including those on the plane of spiritual life, has the power to uncover certain lags, as well as the methods of further improving our entire educational work. Of course, a strict, realistic look at our own activity reveals that we have not always managed to eliminate formalism, to give up inefficient forms and methods of work.

Naturally, as is known, in contrast to other fields, in the work of forming the socialist consciousness we cannot expect spectacular results from one day to another. Our activity is addressed to people with different levels of training, with different attitudes and behaviors, with traits peculiar to each one. Consequently, education, in general, requires perseverance, consistency, ideological and political firmness, continual activity.

Knowing the causes of lags in the socialist consciousness in relation to the development of the production forces and the changes that have occurred in the production relations and the social structure of our society, and acting in the spirit of the theses, ideas and orientations substantiated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu with a view to forming and forging the new man, we are not doing anything but implanting in the people's consciousness confidence and optimism, pride and love for the historical achievements of socialist construction in Romania, and stimulating their political thought, in order for them to be able, under any circumstances, to interpret the development of the events and phenomena, to adopt a correct position toward them, on the basis of our party's conception, to become tireless fighters for attaining the splendid objectives placed by the party before our whole populace. In this way, in my opinion, we are helping to overcome contradictions that are manifesting themselves or appearing in the current stage of development of our society, to more and more strongly affirm the socialist consciousness, as a stimulating force for the multilateral progress of the homeland.

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## IDEOLOGY'S ROLE IN CONTEMPORARY LIFE

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[Article by Constantin Borgeanu: "Ideology and Contemporary Life"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] In the process of building the new order and educating the new man, our party is devoting special attention to the ideological work, to the confrontations of ideas in the contemporary world. "The party's theoretical, ideological and political educational activity," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "is occurring under the conditions of the fierce conflict between the new conception and the old states of affairs."

It is indeed a reality that contemporary spiritual life is dominated by the conflict between ideologies, by the concern regarding their role, with certain characteristic basic tendencies manifesting themselves. One of them found its striking expression in the developed capitalist countries, in the period when crises were considered just an "unpleasant memory," when rapid, continual economic growth was considered a universal panacea for all social problems. These circumstances caused the problem of ideologies, centered around the class confrontations and the social systems, to be regarded by many as obsolete. Integrated into the theoretical constellation of the conceptions regarding the "industrial" and "postindustrial societies," the appearance of the "technocratic era" and the "convergence of the social systems," the imperative of "disideologization" asserted itself more and more. It was grafted onto old antisocialist, anticommunist positions, with the polemic against ideologies often being against socialism, continuing spiritualistic traditions current in the first half of the 20th century, according to which social and political interests would be incompatible with philosophy, with spiritual life in general. Echoes of such a tendency could also be pointed out in Marxist thought--starting from quite different circumstances, of course. The criticism of the dogmatic distortions thus led some thinkers to liken, at least partly, ideology to dogmatism; hence, too, the attempts to circumscribe more severely the sphere of the ideological and to widen the concerns for the "transideological areas," many of which were obviously neglected in the preceding period.

## Different Views of the Role of Ideologies

The group of crises that has affected the whole world in the past decade has eclipsed the theories of "disideologization," at least in the triumphalistic

form in which they circulated in the developed capitalist countries. This does not mean the cessation of the criticism directed at ideology, criticism made from various positions and orientations. Even now, ideologies are often made responsible for all "evils." The suit against them includes many counts: rigidity, ignorance of reality, exclusivism, which leads to fanaticism, distorting pressure, simplification and so on. In the so-called "new philosophy," for example, ideology is considered a prerogative of "power," which represents the basic source of evil, the condition for its transformation into "barbarism."

On the other hand, and again from various viewpoints, a tendency that supports the need for ideologies, their significance and functionality within the social mechanisms, is manifesting itself in contemporary thought; it is becoming more and more obvious now that society needs systems of values, of ideals, of goals that cannot but turn into ideologies. Even the prophets of the "end" of ideologies--Daniel Bell, for instance--have softened their positions. And Raymond Aron has formally repudiated this idea, which he defended fervently many years ago. From other positions it is noted that the ideological vacuum that is created in certain areas of society proves to be destabilizing and, sometimes, a premise for the return of reactionary ideologies in force.

The understanding of this latter tendency, characteristic of contemporary social life, and the establishment of the status and role of ideologies in our era presuppose the specification of the content of the /notion of ideology/, since many of the above-mentioned positions result from the different meanings that are given to it. We do not intend to add a new definition of ideology. Back in the sixth decade of this century, a group of Norwegian researchers pointed out 150 meanings of the term, and in the decades that have followed, the many works and studies published have doubled, if not tripled, this number. /However, the historical materialistic method offers us the possibility of going beyond the perspective of a bookish discussion of these meanings, shifting the accent from the exegesis of texts, no matter how prestigious they may be, to the analysis of the realities/.

The analysis of ideology made by Marx is profoundly illustrative of his thought, constituting according to some even the most important philosophical discovery of historical materialism. The basic element of this analysis is the understanding of ideology as /an expression of social practice and at the same time--under the conditions of a certain social practice, based on the existence of antagonistic classes and of private ownership of the means of production--as a tendency to be regarded as an end in itself, as a world in itself, independent from practice, which confers on it an alienated, unauthentic character/.

So that such an analysis can be the basis of a modern concept of ideology, operational under the current conditions, it must be completed, supplemented.

/First/, it is a question of regarding ideologies as more or less coherent, organized /expressions/ of /value systems/, whose legitimacy asserts itself in different moments and stages of a people's history. The idea of a value, of a value system that orients a society, a culture, a social action, is commanding more and more attention in the consideration of current ideological phenomena. The element that distinguishes one ideology from another lies precisely in a

specific judgment and capacity for selection, in a certain individual illumination that is concretized in a certain universe of values. Naturally, such a broad understanding of ideology poses the problem of the boundary between ideology and culture, a boundary that proves to be mobile and cannot be expressed by rigid markings, it having to be regarded concretely in each particular case. Ideology does not include all the values of culture but constitutes a kind of nucleus of it, contributing to the affirmation of its integrality and personality. As integrated and integrating expressions of value systems, ideologies cannot be conceived only strictly, as doctrines without affective, emotional dimensions. In this regard, /the radical separation that is sometimes made between ideology and social psychology does not correspond, in our opinion, to the real movement and functionality of ideologies in the contemporary era/. Ideologies contain not only ideas but also other representations (myths, images), without which their capacity for wide inclusion and their stimulative power would be hard to explain. A Marxist thinker like Antonio Gramsci, who founded his entire conception on /analyzing the sources of the action of the masses/, was interested in ideologies especially in the sense in which they included what he called "the spontaneous philosophy of the people," whose molding, whose transformation constituted, in the conception of the Italian communist leader, a /leading objective of revolutionary action/.

/Second/, in direct connection with the value system that conditions a certain ideology, it contains /a certain social or human ideal/. Hence the markedly projective character of ideology. The history of ideologies offers us in this regard a wide variety of sociohuman projects: in some the social aspect is predominant, in others the human one; some aver a revolutionary project, others, on the contrary, a conservative one or even a reactionary one; in some the project is explicit, in others implicit (therefore, in the spirit of historical materialism, it is necessary to make a distinction between ideological declarations and their substratum). The real contradictions and the material conditions determine, in the final analysis, the nature of the sociohuman projects and the ideological form in which they are expressed, since, as Marx stated, "the task itself arises only when the material conditions for its resolution already exist or, at least, are in the making."

/Third/, in such an acceptance, the contemporary ideologies--expressing the variety and diversity of the social structures, the interests of the various social communities and groups, the movement of the social contradictions on a national and international plane--are themselves characterized by a /process of diversification/. In the center of the establishment of a scientific typology of the contemporary ideologies there stand the class contradictions, especially the contradictions between the basic classes of the capitalist society: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At the same time, the contradictions between the social systems, especially the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, must be taken into account. Other contradictions are also putting their imprint on the movement of the ideologies of our era. In this regard, the contradiction between the rich countries and the poor ones, which, through its amplitude and its consequences for all contemporary history, is becoming deeper and deeper, characteristic of our era, is of particular importance. The process of affirmation and development of the nations, characteristic of contemporary social progress, is putting its imprint on the movement of the ideologies



of our era, which cannot be understood in their profundity without taking into account their national dimension.

/Fourth/, contemporary ideological life demonstrates /the functionality of ideologies/ in various social systems as a condition for their existence and development. Ideologies cannot be viewed only as a negative phenomenon, even when their content or basic aspects of it are rejected from other ideological positions. They prove to be absolutely necessary to the functioning of the social mechanism. In particular, however, they manifest themselves vigorously in periods of revolutionary changes. Consequently, although the attempts at a cybernetic interpretation of social life, as a set of self-regulating processes, have made notable contributions to explaining the functioning of society, they have demonstrated their inadequacy precisely due to the fact that, especially in some excessive variants, they have neglected the existence of such periods, in which the sometimes unexpected irruption of the ideological has gone beyond schemes and circuits regarded as obligatory. In such a view, the conclusion that some commentators on Marx have drawn from his analysis--that is, that the elimination of a social practice based on private ownership would make ideology useless, eliminating the smokescreen that envelops the social reality--proves to be unfounded.

/Fifth/, the necessity of taking into consideration a vaster range of distortions, of ideological alienations beyond the idealistic one, which Marx stressed somewhat unilaterally by virtue of concrete historical conditionings, is obvious. It is thus necessary to take into account the possibility of the "stiffening" of the structures peculiar to ideology, of their transformation into sacerdotal structures, hostile to mobility, to openness, generating exclusivism, pretensions of infallibility, impermeability, dogmatism.

Such a broader perspective makes it possible to understand the movement of the contemporary ideologies, the confrontations between them, to specify landmarks in the solving of problems posed in the contemporary ideological debate. One of the problems that require critical research concerns the opposition, often regarded as absolute, between science and ideology. In many philosophical and sociopolitical works, this opposition constitutes the nucleus of a veritable modern Manichaeism. Ideology is defined by the opposition to science, as a prescientific phenomenon (each science would have a prehistory in which the ideological elements predominate), a parascientific one or even an antiscientific one. In various authors this opposition is expressed by alternative pairs: dogmatism-creativity, imagination-reason, justification-explication, utopianism-realism, dichotomy-pluralism, identification-differentiation, apology-criticism, epigonism-originality and so on. Ideology would be characterized by the first term of the stated pairs; it would play Ahriman's role, being dogmatic, apologetic, simplistic, utopian, irrational, uncritical, while science would be rational, critical, differentiated, creative. In short, ideology would be "bad" in its various states.

#### The Relationships Between Ideology and Science

The positions from which the "irreducible antagonism" between science and ideology is proclaimed are many and varied. Their range includes the



antisocialist, anti-Marxist viewpoint, according to which the notion of ideology is identical with Marxism, and the criticism of ideologies means, in the main, the criticism of the socialist and communist ideology, but also the viewpoint of Marxists who start from certain distortions--that is, from dogmatic, conjuncturalistic or justificatory tendencies--in scientific life, regarding them as ideological manifestations, as an intrusion of ideology into science. Beyond these positions, however, the essential problem is that of /the real relationships between science and ideology in our era/. Its analysis must start from the existence of two factors profoundly characteristic of contemporary social life: a) the changes in the development of science and their role in social life; b) the conflict between social ideals and values, between the conceptions regarding the meaning of history and the action of the people, a conflict that is putting its imprint on more and more diverse aspects of their existence.

In such a perspective, the problems of the relationships between science and ideology have in their center /the relationship between knowledge and value/, and the opposition between science and ideology means, at bottom, the attempt to radically separate the field of existence from the field of values, the positivistic postulate of axiological "neutrality" as a condition for science. However, the entire course of contemporary science and the development of the social and human sciences, in particular, refute such a postulate, demonstrating on many planes /the connection between the explanation of the facts, their interpretation, the grasping of the objective tendencies, on the one hand, and the foundation of the social ideals and values, on the other hand/. The social reality is, in essence, a human reality. Therefore, the research on it cannot exclude /the meaning that the people give to their actions/, cannot exclude /their values and ideals; apart from these values and ideals, the researcher cannot achieve his adhesion to the object of his research itself/.

Moreover, the idea--of a positivistic nature--of the fundamental incompatibility between judgments of fact, characteristic of science, and ones of value, characteristic of ideology, is being criticized more and more. Ayer himself, who categorically formulated this opposition, has been obliged to reconsider and to soften his initial viewpoint. A significant role in this regard has been played by the development of contemporary logic, in which, as Rescher<sup>3</sup> noted, the logics called philosophical (the logic of action, deontic logic, the logic of imperatives, the logic of preferences and choices) are occupying a more and more important place. The researchers situated in dialectical materialistic positions<sup>4</sup> are formulating the possibility of making judgments of value from judgments of fact, starting from the correspondence between the order of the values and the correlation of objectives in the order of their rank. In our country, the possibility of the reduction of a prescriptive proposition to a descriptive one<sup>5</sup> has also been pointed out.

This research is occurring against the background of changes in scientific knowledge itself, changes that refer not only to the social sciences but also to the natural sciences; they demonstrate more and more the obsolete character of an abstract, geometric model of science in which man and his subjectivity disappear completely. The well-known astronomer Ambartsumian<sup>6</sup> thus stated that the science of the 20th century has gone beyond the passive, contemplative

conception of scientific knowledge characteristic of the science of the 17th-19th centuries. Contemporary science cannot be understood without the dialectic of the object and the subject, without that "active aspect" that Marx stressed so much, separating himself from Feuerbach. Ernest Hutten pointed out the fact that, if we want to be objective, we must recognize the human participation in the scientific process, in order to have the possibility of estimating it.<sup>7</sup> In his turn, Erwin Schrodinger made in an article an assertion which seemed heretical, at a certain time, to the philosophers of science but which has now become less and less debatable: "There is the tendency to forget that all of science is connected with human culture in general and that scientific discoveries, even ones that, at a given time, seem to be the most advanced, esoteric and difficult to understand, are without significance outside their cultural context."

The tendencies that are making their way in contemporary thought thus make evident the power of the dialectical materialist idea concerning /the dialectical unity between the field of existence, of objective laws, and that of values, of norms, of ideals/. This unity means, on the one hand, the possibility of a "scientization" of the ideological in the sense of founding a system of social ideals and values based on science, a system that does not always constitute a nebulosity that covers the truth but, under certain conditions, even an essential aspect of it. In this sense, Marx and Engels defined their socialist ideal as /scientific socialism/. Such a definition does not mean the disputing of the autonomy of the social, moral and political ideals, their reduction to knowledge (as, for example, in Kautsky: "This ideal has no business in scientific socialism."<sup>8</sup>), but the basing of these choices and ideals on knowledge of the objective laws.

However, the unity between the ideological and knowledge also has a second aspect that could be called the "ideologization" of knowledge, even if such an expression would annoy some by virtue of the pejorative aura that surrounds the concept of ideology. In fact, it is only a question of phenomena that are noticeable to any objective researcher, that is, /the more and more profound integration of science into society: the "humanization" of science, the unity of the natural sciences and the social sciences on more and more planes, the closer and closer connections between science, art, philosophy/ and so on.

Ideology, in this conception, does not represent by definition a "distorting medium" for knowledge. It is not identified in principle either with dogmatism or with preconceived or imposed opinions. The Marxist ideology is not an "animistic projection,"<sup>9</sup> as Monod considered it, but includes precisely the requirement of that "postulate of objectivity" put by the French scientist in the center of the "ethics of knowledge," which he tries to contrapose to dialectical materialism. The very definition given by Engels to materialism, as a method of considering nature as it is, without any supernatural addendum, a requirement that includes "avant la lettre" Monod's postulate of objectivity, represents a graphic example in this regard.

The characterization of such an ideology as a scientific ideology does not mean at all its transformation into a system of general formulas that should merely be particularized by sciences but, on the contrary, a complete openness, in all

directions, to the new data of science, the acquisition of the creative, critical revolutionary spirit that characterizes it.

The fact that such an ideology has been able to serve as a justification for actions to hinder the progress of science--even under the conditions in which the changes in the social structure created premises for eliminating that alienating character of ideology, generated by the capitalist social realities and to which Marx and Engels referred particularly in "The German Ideology"--undoubtedly constitutes a serious problem. However, it demonstrates only the complexity of the process of ideological disalienation and cannot lead to the conclusion that any ideology--including the socialist ideology--would inevitably be a "false," distorting consciousness of reality.

The shadow that covers the notion of ideology in the conception to which we referred does not always have as a complementary aspect a bright halo around science. The opinion professed by the Frankfurt school and by a number of thinkers influenced by it, according to which science itself would constitute an alienated and alienating ideology, is a paradoxical reply to such a Manichean conception regarding the relationships between science and ideology. According to some, like Marcuse, for instance, the contemporary culture would be more ideological than the one that preceded it, since the ideology has been situated in the production process itself.<sup>10</sup> Conceived as an instrument to dominate nature, it would become, at the same time, an instrument to dominate, to subjugate man. According to others, like Habermas, the author of the work "Technology and Science as 'Ideology,'" such an ideology would be less "ideological" than the old-type ideologies, in the sense that it would be less opaque, becoming nonetheless more noxious than any other, since it is directed not just against a class but against the human species itself.<sup>11</sup>

Without making here a detailed analysis of this conception and its nuances, it is possible to mention the fact that it forms part of the confrontation between the scientific spirit and humanism, an expression of a false dilemma that deeply divides contemporary thought. The closer and closer connection with technology and the impetus that it has given to contemporary civilization make science "suspect" in the eyes of some of the current defenders of socialism. The philosophy of man is regarded by them as a reaction to modern civilization's universe, permeated by science and technology and consequently, according to the respective authors, characterized by aridity, standardization, conformism. Between science and technology, on the one hand, and man, on the other, there would develop an antagonism with more and more serious manifestations, which would constitute, as even Bernanos put it graphically, "a permanent conspiracy against any kind of inner life," would have as an effect the spiritual crippling of man and would become the basis of a true tragedy of the contemporary era.

Such an acceptance of the humanistic spirit in opposition to the scientific one proves to be flimsy and unfounded. The fears regarding the danger of the mechanization and flattening of man, updated after each big scientific and technical discovery, such as that of cybernetic machines, are, for the most part, belied by life. The progress of civilization, of science and technology, is creating, at least as a possibility, more and more space for the



manifestation and intensification of the people's creative virtues, for the more and more categorical affirmation of their human freedom. In addition, the notions of man and human freedom are almost empty if we exclude them from human activity, which is concretized, above all, in certain forms of production, in its results. Consequently, as social activity grows in extent, complexity and depth, there becomes more and more obvious the facileness of an ideology that is content to diminish man and his freedom, without deciphering what this means in each concrete stage of social development, without uncovering its possibilities and clarifying its prospects.

### Ideology and Philosophy

On this ground, the problem of the relationships between science and ideology also raises another, that of /the relationships between philosophy and ideology/. As a general view of the world and man, as a synthetic expression of his values in a certain historical stage, philosophy has always had an ideological significance. In their turn, ideologies have had or have tried to have in their center a certain philosophy. In our era, however, tendencies to relax the relationships between philosophy and ideology or even attempts at a rupture have arisen as a reflection of the negative attitude toward ideology. A positivistic mentality, once of wide influence, proposed as a main objective to "emancipate" philosophy and all thought from ideology's sway. On the other hand, in a number of capitalist countries, philosophy is partly losing its role of a preferential bearer of society's values, of an ideological laboratory, with the ruling circles preferring to it the means of mass communication, the various techniques of manipulation. All these things have led to the restriction of philosophy's influence, to its confinement to nonideological areas.

To such tendencies to distance philosophy from ideology there are opposed, as in the general case of ideology, the more and more numerous, authoritative and prestigious opinions according to which /philosophy cannot preserve its status within various cultures except by again inclining toward the problems of man, of his values, of the meaning of his existence, of the social framework that they presuppose, in other words, by again approaching ideology/, even if the particular word is often avoided. This is all the more important for a philosophy like ours, which extracts its very substance from the revolutionary movement of society. Such a philosophy cannot but have /a militant, ideological vocation, that is, found a social and human ideal/; at the same time, through its critical, revolutionary character, it can counteract the ideological distortions--unilateralization, isolation, simplification, the consideration of ideas as an end in themselves--whose possibility is not excluded with the transformation of the social context.

The Marxist philosophy proves to be a profoundly contemporary spiritual reality, characteristic of our era also because it achieves the organic synthesis of what Snow called "two cultures" and Huxley "two worlds": science and man. Based on science and its results and borrowing from it rigor and categorical opposition to any mysticism, this philosophy is, at the same time, an ideology, representing the basic aspiration toward a certain social and political system, toward socialism and communism, expressing synthetically the universe of values corresponding to these aspirations. In its development it has not always been

possible to avoid the unilateralizing tendencies, which either reduced it to a closed system of abstract laws of an objective universe from which man was missing or, on the contrary, led it to reject science, considering it bourgeois, alienating or unconscious. Such tendencies ignored or omitted the fact that /one of the basic characteristics of dialectical and historical materialism, a characteristic in which the originality of this thought manifests itself in the most striking way, is precisely the indissoluble dialectical unity between its scientific spirit and humanism, between the lucid analysis of the possibilities and the aspiration toward the highest ideals, between the understanding of the objective tendencies of development and the affirmation of man's creative power/. In elaborating his work, Marx started from a meditation on man and his condition in the social context peculiar to the era in which he lived. However, the conclusion of this meditation on the possibilities of human disalienation and of man's fulfillment has led to the necessity of a scientific analysis of the set of social structures in which the human "essence" resides, of the objective tendencies of their development.

Widely understood, with its many possibilities, free from narrowmindedness and dogmatism, principled and flexible at the same time, capable of being developed in forms proper to each complex of specific conditions, /the dialectical and historical materialist conception proves to be a philosophy profoundly characteristic not only of our era in general but especially of victorious socialism. It is profoundly integrated into our party's conception regarding socialist education, with its multiple, inseparable aspects/.

Through its scientific spirit, the dialectical materialist philosophy is opposed to any dogma, any preconceived ideas, presupposes research and demonstration and promotes the principle of multilateral and wide discussion of the problems; /the success of the philosophical activity presupposes a fertile exchange of ideas, deep knowledge of the realities, an innovative spirit, without the fear of seeing the realities as they are and not as we would like them to be/.

Having a scientific character, this philosophy is, at the same time, profoundly ideological. A scientific view of the world does not mean a neutral view. Each era has been characterized by a certain spirit of it, concretized in certain philosophical conceptions that have molded the mode of thought of the people, of the various social classes and groups. This is all the truer of the dialectical and historical materialist philosophy. /One of the basis senses of this philosophy and the philosophical activity based on it is to contribute to working out and spreading its own system of values, of ideals based on a scientific global view of the world, on the analysis of the concrete social realities/. It can thus have a significant role in the changes that are occurring in the people's consciousness, in the affirmation of a new human model.

Modern civilization presupposes an inevitable process of specialization and, in a certain sense, of fragmentation, of unilateralization of the picture of the world. Under these circumstances, a philosophical education, always having in sight the global view, the relationship to man, is becoming a more and more urgent necessity. Through this function, it corresponds to the profound sense of science's development itself, its integrative tendencies, the fact that the



contemporary scientific and technical revolution, despite appearances to the contrary, is creating in prospect the possibility and necessity of the affirmation of the man characterized by a wide horizon and creative power.

The spread of science and culture is narrowing the ground on which the influences of the mystical and religious conceptions can bear fruit, especially under the conditions in which the social bases of such conceptions are being eliminated. But science by itself cannot respond wholly to the vast human problems through which religion often tries to maintain its influence. However, collaboration between science and an advanced philosophy, as is the dialectical materialist one, can produce positive results even in this so complex and difficult field of the formation and development of the socialist consciousness. The philosophical perspective thus constitutes an element of fusion, a hyphen between the concerns for introducing the gains of science on a large scale and those that involve the development of the moral and political consciousness of the working people. /The dialectical unity between science and consciousness finds one of its most striking expressions in the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism, in the proper social framework for achieving it, which is the socialist order. The affirmation and development of this unity are being regarded more and more as characteristic traits of the superiority of the new social order/.

The investigations regarding the current meanings of the notion of ideology, the relationships between ideology and science, between ideology and philosophy and so on have pointed out ideology's strong presence in the contemporary societies. Ideology's situation under the conditions of socialism and /the growth of ideology's role under such conditions/ are profoundly relevant in such a context. The experience of Romania, of our party, is particularly cogent in this regard. The growing significance of ideology and ideological activity in the current stage of construction of socialism in Romania has been brought out in the documents of the 12th congress, in the speech of the secretary general of the party at the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, devoted particularly to ideological problems, and in the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the RCP National Conference in December 1982.

#### The Active Role of Ideologies in Socialism

The role of the ideological factors in socialist practice results from, among other things, the fact that it presupposes the continual specification of the objectives at a national and county level and at the level of small groups. The necessity of a clear consciousness of the correlation between the objectives at each level, between those proper to the individual and those belonging to the nation, to the whole society, is required by the inner mechanism of the socialist society and is asserting itself strikingly in the current stage of our country's development. It confers sense, criteria for enhancing, for drawing together the complex of social actions. The ideological is no longer located at a certain distance from social action but is becoming intrinsic to it. As socialist social life is consolidated, as society includes "more socialism," their ideological dimension is asserting itself more and more as necessary, as indispensable.

Socialism presupposes not only the understanding of society's basic objectives and of their connection with the objectives of each group, of each individual, but also the consciousness of the methods of achieving these objectives, the character of organized, planned construction of all social activity. The so-called "constructivism," much reviled by theoreticians of neoliberalism like Hayek, proves to be an inexorable requirement of contemporary society. The deficiencies of attempts at planned construction do not demonstrate the absurdity of the idea of "the intellectual construction of human institutions"--as Hayek feels--but the fact that such conscious construction entails a suitable social and economic framework, which capitalism cannot offer. Constituting such a framework, the socialist social relations nonetheless do not automatically cause planned, balanced construction. This presupposes the understanding of the realities in their complexity, in their dynamics, with their difficulties, and creative imagination in surmounting them, in resolving the contradictions. /The ideological activity, which is an integral part of this construction, which is asserting itself as an essential dimension of it/, must have precisely such a character.

The significance of the ideological activity also results from the new value system that the affirmation of the new order presupposes. This significance stands out conspicuously against the background of the changes in values in contemporary society. The respective changes concern, above all, the table of values created in essence in the process of the antifeudal struggle--values synthesized in the notions characteristic of the Enlightenment: progress, civilization, humanity, happiness, liberty, reason. Due to a whole series of historical circumstances, these values have been able to synthesize mankind's entire historical experience, therefore playing, in a certain sense, a role of a matrix for everything positive that has been created within contemporary civilization.

The essential characteristic of these values at the time of their appearance was negativity, opposition to the medieval spiritual universe; the idea of progress thus appeared as a reaction to the idea of salvation, of original sin; the idea of humanity appeared in opposition to that of divinity. Along with the development and consolidation of the capitalist order, this order's realities--exploitation, pursuit of profit, egoism and individualism--have entered into a clear contrast with the values appearing in its cradle. The attempts to give these values a positive content have led at most--under the conditions of the dominant social and political system--to their sterilization, to their transformation into a collection of platitudes, of empty slogans. The crisis of the capitalist system has caused the expansion of the conflict between the order's social and economic content and the values of the Enlightenment. All the attempts to adapt these values to the existing order have proved ineffective, and even the attempts to replace these values with other, "modern" ones have not had notable results. Capitalism has thus generated a profound crisis in values--widely recognized today from different ideological positions--which, in essence, resides, on the one hand, in this social system's inability to give a positive content to the traditional values and, on the other hand, in its inability to create new values. The confrontations around the idea of progress are significant in these respects. The historical pessimism, reactivated today in different forms, the positivistic tendency to duck the very problem of the

meaning of history, or the various attempts--which, for the most part, are proving ephemeral--to replace the idea of progress with others, less noxious to the current capitalist order, are also found in the fate of other values, such as humanity, civilization, happiness and so on. The crisis in values thus constitutes a striking expression of the crisis of a system that, despite the resources that it still has, is proving powerless to still master the values created at its very birth, to create ideas that would inspire the masses, to formulate credible ideals.

Socialism and the revolutionary transformations that characterize it cause profound changes in the world of values. It thus creates the framework for achieving that positivity of values of which capitalism has proved incapable. Under these conditions, the values of the Enlightenment are no longer condemned to embody "the critical spirit without positivity," to which even Hegel referred, but acquire a new class content and a higher form of existence. Thus, the idea of progress acquires new resources, a new physiognomy within a new order, capable of multilateral development and, especially, capable of freeing itself from that age-old curse--in the world of Levy-Strauss--that conditioned the achievement of progress on the subjugation of its main creators. The idea of justice, deeply rooted in the people's consciousness, also acquires a new content in the socialist society, which eliminates the main injustice, that is, the exploitation of man by man. Finally, the idea of happiness, freed from banality, from individualistic narrowmindedness, from the aura of egoism that often surrounds it, becomes a concrete objective of struggle, of action, of constructive effort. The content that these values acquire confers on them a new vitality, a special force of influence. To them are added other guiding ideas that complete socialism's constellation of values, of which we cite a few: /the idea of labor as a source of growth in national wealth, of the flourishing of the homeland, of the affirmation of its independence and sovereignty, of the prosperity of the people, of personal well-being and happiness, a decisive field in the affirmation of the human personality; the idea of equity as an expression of the sense of the development of the new social relations; the idea of responsibility, which results from the new relations between the individual and society, from their organic unity within the new order/ and so on.

The growing possibilities of reacting effectively to the alienating, mystifying tendencies that have affected the history of ideologies constitute an essential quality of the socialist social practice that has direct repercussions on the nature of the ideology proper to it. In this regard, there must be, in the first place, a few considerations regarding the question often posed, explicitly or implicitly, as to whether socialism, by virtue of the fact that it eliminates private ownership of the main means of production, also eliminates radically, at the same time, the phenomena of alienation in social life, including the distortions intrinsic to the ideologies characteristic of the societies based on exploitation and class antagonisms. The many analyses made within Marxist thought, especially in recent times,<sup>12</sup> show that it cannot be a question of a categorically affirmative answer to such a question. The problem proves to be much more complex and, consequently, impossible to solve on the basis of simple deductive reasoning of the type: since ideological alienation is the result of a social practice based on private ownership of the means of



production, the elimination of this practice also means directly the elimination of any phenomena of ideological alienation. In reality, ideological life forms part of the movement of consciousness, of culture, in which the elements of continuity are very strong and in which rapid and immediate "ruptures" are hard to imagine. Then, the socialist social relations themselves, which condition the change in the nature of ideological life, must be conceived in their dynamism, in their processuality, with the fulfillment of their potentials sometimes involving whole historical stages, the resolution of contradictions, the surmounting of obstacles. Moreover, ideology's new virtues themselves and its essential significance for the whole social mechanism create various possibilities that, if they are not counteracted in time, produce, under certain circumstances, new distortions. Once again, history proves to be "cunning," so that even its great achievements can sometimes also be "pitfalls" on mankind's course toward emancipation.

In order to explain this last idea, I would mention the fact that the strong penetration of the ideological into all social life and consciousness--a positive phenomenon of profound sociohuman significance--can nonetheless sometimes lead to the simplistic interpretation of phenomena, to the artificial "ideologization" of phenomena of culture, to the denial of any permeability between cultures, of any continuity; the organic interpenetration of the ideological with the political, which gives scope and perspective to political action, can sometimes be interpreted as a narrow subordination of the ideological to the political or even as an administrative trusteeship by the latter over the former, as a reduction of ideological activity to a simple justificatory function; the elimination of class antagonisms, as a basic characteristic of the social practice underlying the new ideology, can sometimes lead to the underestimation of confrontations of opinions as a basic condition for the development of ideology, to a monolithic, absolutizing understanding of it; the dialectical unity between the social and the human, which stands in the center of the socialist ideology, can sometimes lead to the tendency to reduce the human to the social, to the underestimation of human differentiations and so on.

The historical experience of constructing the new order under various conditions, in various periods, has shown that such dangers do not merely constitute abstract possibilities but can be concretized under certain circumstances. However, it is essential to stress /socialism's capacity to combat such manifestations that prove to be contrary to the basic spirit of the new social system, to its ideology. In this there lies, in fact, one of the basic aspects of socialism's superiority as a method of revolutionary reorganization of society and man/.

Such a capacity results, above all, from the class nature of the socialist ideology, from the interests proper to the working class, opposed to any idealistic mystification of the real springs of society's movement. They are becoming more prominent and acquiring new aspects in the process of constructing the socialist society, under the conditions of the changes that are occurring in the class structure of this society, under the conditions of achieving a society of national and social equality, which--as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982--provides a unitary conception of the world and life.

The specifications made by the secretary general of the party in the speech at the plenum with regard to the creation of a unitary ideology are profoundly relevant for the problems of ideological disalienation under the conditions of socialism. The idea that the affirmation of such an ideology is not achieved except within the framework of confrontations, often acute, with other ideological conceptions, whose persistence is also explained in that they have evolved over the course of many social orders, is thus particularly significant. The extremely complex character of the process is also taken into account in the specification that the providing of the conditions for the affirmation of a unitary theoretical, ideological conception of the world and life must not be understood in the narrow sense of uniformizing, of accepting without discussion one thesis or another. The necessity of combating such dogmatic, uniformizing distortions is therefore regarded as a special problem of the ideological activity. /The compatibility of a unitary ideology with the diversity of opinions and the requirement of thoroughly discussing such opinions are thus basic orientations in the process of the affirmation of the new ideology/.

The growing possibilities of eliminating the ideological distortions also results from the important place that science occupies in the socialist society. The new order creates the possibilities of such a development of science that, far from hindering the multilateral development of the human personality, it creates for it a wide field of manifestation. Becoming not only compatible with man but also a factor in his affirmation, science constitutes a basic component and an essential framework for developing the socialist ideology.

The development of an intense ideological life, capable of reducing the distortions and alienations to a minimum, also results as a possibility from the fact that there is a revolutionary philosophical conception in the center of the socialist ideology. In Marxist philosophical journalism the syntagm "the revolution in philosophy" is often used to mark the time of the appearance of the new conception in the history of philosophical doctrines. Sometimes, however, its significance is reduced to distinguishing the distance that separates the Marxist conception from other conceptions, which means, at the same time, the overshadowing of the many threads that tie it to the development of all human culture. In reality, the revolution resides not only in the difference between the theses of the Marxist philosophy and those characteristic of other elements of philosophical thought but in the critical spirit characteristic of the dialectical materialist conception, in its capacity to consider critically, without cessation, both reality and man and their own substance. The critical spirit characteristic of the dialectical materialist philosophy does not nullify by itself the conservative, ossifying tendencies within ideology, tendencies that can include philosophy itself. However, it can contribute to the stifling of such not-at-all obligatory phenomena, which are rather the product of the "childhood" spent often in the unfavorable conditions of the new order. The basic mechanisms of this order free from incidental constraints and barriers generate a new dialectic of reality, a dialectic of great depth and variety of expression, which cannot but have repercussions on the subjective dialectic, on man, on his view of the world. The premises are thus created for such an ideological activity which would mean--paraphrasing one of the well-known "Theses on Feuerbach"--the transition from human consciousness (as an ideal, as an imperative, as an expression of values situated on the remote horizons) to conscious mankind.



# FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Expunere cu Privire la Stadiul Actual al Edificarii Socialismului in Tara Noastra, la Problemele Teoretice, Ideologice si Activitatea Politica, Educativa a Partidului Prezentata la Plenara Largita a Comitetului Central al Partidului Comunist Roman, 1-2 Iunie 1982" [A Speech on the Current Stage of the Construction of Socialism in Our Country, on the Theoretical, Ideological Problems and the Political, Educational Activity of the Party, Presented at the Expanded Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, 1-2 June 1982], Politica Publishing House, p 9.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Opere" [Works], Vol 13, Politica Publishing House, 1962, p 9.
3. N. Rescher, "Recent Development in Philosophical Logic," in "La Philosophie Contemporaine," Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1968, p 31.
4. E. Hahn, "Ideologie und Erkenntnis," in "Akten des XIV Internationales Kongresses fur Philosophie," Vol I, Herder Verlag, Vienna, 1968, pp 489-490.
5. Pavel Apostol, "Norma Etica si Activitate Normata" [An Ethical Norm and Normalized Activity], Stiintifica Publishing House, 1968.
6. V. A. Ambartsumian, "Contemporary Natural Science and Philosophy," in "Akten des XIV Internationales Kongresses fur Philosophie," Vol I, pp 515-516.
7. E. N. Hutten, "Ideile Fundamentale ale Fizicii" [The Basic Ideas of Physics], Enciclopedica Romana Publishing House, 1970, p 163.
8. Karl Kautsky, "Etica si Conceptia Materialista a Istoriei" [Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History], Publishing House of the PSD [Social Democratic Party], Bucharest, 1947, p 133.
9. Jacques Monod, "Le Hasard et la Necessite," Seuil, Paris, 1970, p 46.
10. H. Marcuse, "L'Homme Unidimensional," Minuit, Paris, p 36.
11. Jurgen Habermas, "Technik und Wissenschaft al 'Ideologie,'" Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, pp 76-79.
12. Compare: Radu Sommer, "Teoria Instrainarii Omului" [The Theory of the Estrangement of Man], Politica Publishing House, 1972; Gh. Astefanei, "Problematica Alienarii si Dezalienarii" [The Problems of Alienation and Disalienation], Politica Publishing House, 1980; A. Schaft, "Entfremdung als Soziales Phanomen," Vienna, 1977.

12105

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OFFICIAL REVIEWS POSITION OF MUSLIMS IN SFRY

AU181412 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Sep 83

[Interview with Radovan Samardzic, secretary of the Federal Executive Council Commission for Relations With Religious Communities, by Nebojsa Jankovic-- recorded, date and place not given]

[Text] [Samardzic] Our society does not set any restriction on the freedom of activities of religious communities other than that they must not misuse religion or religious activities for political purposes. What is punishable in particular in our country is any propaganda for or implementation of national inequality and any incitement to religious hatred and intolerance. Religion cannot be a basis for political divisions or political organization of citizens.

[Jankovic] Islam as a religion is nowadays very politicized in the international scene, and Islamic fundamentalism does not recognize state or regional borders and frontiers. Is this reflected in the position and activities of the Islamic religious community in our country?

[Samardzic] As a religious community, it enjoys the same treatment and position, and freedom in its religious activities as all other religious communities. However, in the past few years, Islam has become more dynamic in the international scene on the one hand, and on the other hand the Islamic community in Yugoslavia has opened up particularly toward the Islamic centers and it has established lively communications with these centers and countries.

To the extent that these communications are of a religious nature, we have nothing against them. However, we have been noticing lately a political background. A number of members of the Islamic community are in schools in Islamic countries, especially in Cairo, Baghdad, and some other centers.

[Jankovic] Do you possess any figures?

[Samardzic] According to our data, some 200 students of our Islamic community are in schools there. We whose duty it is to maintain contacts between church and state note that some international Islamic centers, associations, organizations, and bodies assess that, considering that a rather strong group of Muslims lives in Yugoslavia, here is a favorable ground or, as they put it, a bridge for the expansion of Islam toward West Europe.

[Jankovic] If we leave individual excesses on the side, how do you assess the overall activities of the Islamic religious community in Yugoslavia?

[Samardzic] We believe that the majority of religious servants of the Islamic community have a correct and patriotic attitude and perform their religious functions. Let me not even say that the majority of the Islamic community members or the faithful are fully included in the construction of their better material, cultural, and spiritual emancipation. If there is a problem it exists in the extreme part, or as it has usually been called lately, the clerical-nationalistic part, of the Islamic community, a part which wishes to constitute the Islamic community into a special entity, I mean....

[Jankovic] A political force.

[Samardzic] ...A political force, as a representative of the Muslims in an ethnic, national sense. In our circumstances, this is not permissible and it means a violation of the constitutional principle of the position of religion and church in Yugoslavia.

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## ALBANIAN REACTION TO 'JEDINSTVO 83' DENOUNCED

LD171204 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0952 GMT 17 Sep 83

[By TANJUG editor Miodrag Djukic: "Albanian Maneuvers About the Maneuvers"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)--The successful performance of the just-concluded military maneuvers "Jedinstvo 83" has received great publicity both in our own press and further afield. Apart from the fact that their 2-day course was widely reported to the Yugoslav citizens by the press, radio and television, this year's exercises were also watched by representatives of the countries which signed the Helsinki document. On this occasion, Yugoslavia had something to show but at the same time it confirmed its known position that it has nothing to hide, either from its citizens or from the world. Thus, it manifested, in a field as sensitive as defense, that it respects all international agreements it has signed. In fact, it has done more, because in view of the number of participants it was not under obligation to give information about the maneuvers or to invite foreign representatives.

All invited countries, with the exception of Albania, sent representatives. Instead of accepting Yugoslavia's openness towards the world as a gesture of consideration, the Albanian Government abused the Yugoslav official invitation and used it for new attacks, crude slanders, and primitive interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, including the repetition of known territorial pretenses.

Assessing the maneuvers as a "military act" which in Enver Hoxha's propaganda recipe represents "a threat to the neighboring countries," the official agency ATA gave Albania the role of "tutor" to "lecture" the Yugoslav leadership as to where in Yugoslavia it has or, rather, it has not the right to hold military maneuvers. On this occasion, too, it mentions the "Albanian territories" in Yugoslavia where, according to Tirana, there should be no maneuvers, insinuating that the military exercises represent "an attempt to exert" pressure and blackmail against Albanians who are SFRY citizens. In this context, Albania renews its threats against Yugoslavia. Tirana says that "the Albanians cannot be frightened" and that they "are never afraid of saber



rattling." It also disputes the figure of 22,000 participants in the maneuvers and says that "there were more than 50,000."

It is strange that Tirana rejected the invitation to send a representative to be on the spot to count the number of participants. Albania has certainly not done this just to be able, in its usual way, to speak about the maneuvers and Yugoslavia in a premediated manner. The reasons for such behavior lie above all in the internal Albanian nature, the way it understands cooperation, good-neighborliness, and struggle for peace in the Balkans, Europe and the world.

By sending its observers to the maneuvers, Albania would have become obliged to send invitations in connection with its frequent movements of troops and maneuvers in the border areas with its neighbors. Albania, however, does not want such a obligation. The Albanian Government does not want to be obliged to tell its own citizens about its maneuvers, either. The Albanians themselves know that wider movements of military units and "maneuvers" take place in Albania as a rule during the periods of intensified internal relations, sharper and more drastic cadre purges and liquidations, or during the holding of secret trials of arrested personalities, as happened at the beginning of this year.

ATA has also used the maneuvers in Yugoslavia to mention the funeral of Aleksandar Rankovic, which it has assessed as "open pressure on Kosovo and Albanians from other parts of Yugoslavia." It is undoubtedly a matter of double standards. Yugoslavia has never accepted the Stalinist morality of Enver Hoxha, who for almost 4 decades has been physically liquidating his closest associates--and, as he himself often stated, throwing them "in the dustbin of history" and "burning them like dogs"--among whom Premier Mehmet Shehu certainly was not the last one.

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## PILOTS, CONTROLLERS COMMENT ON KAL PLANE DOWNING

AU181334 [Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 10 September on page 17 carries a 1,300-word article by Janez Kovacic under the title "Air Traffic Rules: Pilots Do Not Look out the Window," presenting the views of air traffic controllers and pilots at the Ljubljana airport at Brnik on the downing of the KAL airliner. Regarding the oft-repeated question whether it was at all possible that the Boeing-747 strayed from its flight path, Kovacic says: "The controllers at Brnik airport say--and there is no reason to disbelieve their words and experience--that such things happen quite frequently." They cite the case of a Yugoslav airliner which on a flight to Scotland several years ago lost its way and ended up in central France.

The controllers explain that flights over oceans cannot be covered by civilian radars and that air traffic controllers rely on positions reported by pilots, who may be in error. Navigational errors cannot be corrected by looking at land features, "because, as they say at Brnik, one does not look out the window on such flights." International signs and procedures have therefore been agreed upon so that a civilian plane may be warned or made to land. "These of course are the extreme means available when the airspace of a state is violated, if we exclude the most extreme means--shooting down." It is believed at Brnik that it is quite possible that no radio contact could be established between the Soviets and the Korean airliner "for an almost banal reason: It is possible that nobody in the Soviet military air control could speak English, which is the universal language in air traffic."

Kovacic also quotes the opinion of Brnik people that a military pilot could hardly mistake a Boeing-747 for an RC-135, even at night. He concludes: "If one can talk about all these technical details of the event in a more or less detached way, one has to adopt a different attitude toward the people who died in the tragedy. The moment a missile hit the plane, the passengers in it were sentenced to death." At those altitudes one loses consciousness in some 20 seconds because of a lack of oxygen, but the plane took some 10 minutes to plunge into the sea. "After a few minutes a man who has not been wounded may regain consciousness, and then his descent to death is really long..." Kovacic concludes.

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